THE
Ambitious Practices
OF
FRANCE.

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THE Ambitious Practices OF FRANCE: OR,

A Relation of the Ways and Methods uſed by them to attain to that Supream Grandeur.

As alſo,

The Secret Intrigues of the *FRENCH* King's Miniſters at the Courts of moſt of the Princes and States of EUROPE.

With Remarks thereupon, and ſome Reflections on the Intereſt of thoſe Princes.

LICENSED,

June 12. 1689. *J. Fraſer.*

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June 12.
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Woolsey

THE EPISTLE TO THE READER.

THE *following* Tract *seems to have been written by a* Hollander, *and is a kind of* Compendium *of many of the* Artifices *and* Measures *used by the* French Court *for several years last past, in order to*

to the attaining to that formidable Power and Greatneſs it now ſtands poſſeſſed of. If the Author *had been as much a Maſter of* Logick, *as he appears to be Curious in prying into the* Secrets *of* Cabinets, *the* French *Parliaments refuſing to ratifie the Peace of the* Pyrenees, *opened him a large Field wherein to have ſhewn his Talent, and perhaps might eaſily have brought to the* Bay *all the Pleas that have hitherto appeared of the Moſt Chriſtian King's Miniſters. But ſince he thought not fit to urge what a Maiming it was of the Royal Prerogative in that Miniſtry to own the invalidity of a Treaty, though Signed and Ratified by the* Prince, *only for want of the Peoples Conſent, which is, as I take it,*

a kind

a kind of Lopping, or rather Blaſting one of the fairest Flowers of the Crown, I ſhall not trouble my ſelf to puſh on that Argument for him. Yet though he affords us but a ſcantling of Reaſon, we muſt own him a Man of Intelligence, *and that there are many particulars very well worth our knowledge in theſe gleanings of his after ſo many Writers upon the ſame Subject; though for my part I ſhould be loth to ſtand ſurety for the verity of them all. However there is a ſort of merit in making them* Engliſh, *ſince it ſerves to ſhew the happy and prudent Conduct of our Government, which ſhelters us from thoſe* Miſeries *our* Neighbours *groan under; this and the proſpect of ſo many private Cabals, is what I hope will give the Reader*

der satisfaction, which he is not in any wise to expect from the Stile, which has the usual ruggedness of the North, *and which being in a hurry, I had not time to smoothen and slick, though here and there I made a shift to purge it of the filth and ordures of a Republican Pen.*

Ambi-

THE Ambitious Practices OF FRANCE.

IT's no difficult matter to diſcover the Origine of the Miſchiefs which we labour under at this day: Thoſe who wou'd but take the pains to make reflexion upon what has occurr'd within theſe twenty Years in *Europe*, would, with me, grant, that if ſad Experience had but taught us to be wiſe, we ſhould not now ſee our ſelves reduced to the miſerable Eſtate we are in. For 'tis not of late only, that *France* began to infringe Treaties, which ſeem'd the moſt Sacred. Her Ambition could not Curb it ſelf ſo long from appearing. But we have been either ſo weak, or ſo blind, as not to think of oppoſing Her Deſigns, until it was too late. Wherefore we can only impute our misfortunes to our ſelves, and ſincerely own, that if we now

undergo the puniſhment of our Imprudence, it is a puniſhment we have richly deſerv'd.

And indeed to whom ought we more to attribute the weakneſs of the *Spaniards*, than to our ſelves, who have ſo often contributed to reduce them to the Circumſtances they are in at this day? Was it not eaſie for us to ſee, that they only ſupported themſelves by the means of the Cabals on foot in *France*, in the time of Cardinal *Mazarine*, and that if the Prince of *Conde* had abondoned them, it had been Adieu to their Fortune, and Repute? Yet notwithſtanding we had ſeen they had loſt the Aſſiſtance of that Prince, who by the Peace of the *Pyrenees*, was returned into his Duty, and that *France*, to the prejudice of ſo Holy, and ſo Authentick a Treaty, continued not only to foment the Troubles of *Portugal*, but to ſend thither ſuccours at ſeveral times, though we had ſeen, I ſay, that the Peace was only a Maſque to Her Ambition, we ſtill ſuffer'd our Neighbours to be oppreſs'd, without ſaying a word, as if Policy ought not to have taught us, that 'twas time to oppoſe the Deſigns of a Nation, which will never be contented, until it has glutted its Ambition with the Conqueſt of the whole Earth.

Yet with how much Audaciouſneſs, not to ſay Impudence, does it maintain that all its paces are conformable to the Peace? Would it not ſtill inſinuate that all that paſs'd in the buſineſs of *Portugal*, paſs'd without its Order; and while it ſent Men and Money thither, did it not outwardly forbid its Subjects to bear Arms in that ſervice, to whom, on the other ſide it inſinuated underhand the going to the Aſſiſtance of that Crown, as the only place capable of acquiring them Eſteem and Reputation. This notwithſtanding, what did it not ſay to the Ambaſſador of *Spain*, who highly Complained of theſe Infractions, and who ſaw before his Eyes in the Metropolis of the Kingdom, the *Marquis de Beauvieu* rais'd publickly a Regiment of Horſe for the ſervice of that Crown, after having treated in Appearance with the Ambaſſador of *Portugal*, but in effect with the Court of *France*? It would needs have,

have, that all this Ambaſſador urg'd, was but effects of his Imagination, juſt as at this day it endeavours to inſinuate into us, that it has not any deſign of making War, though for ſome months paſt, it has laid waſte, and eat up a Country which does not belong to it, and to which it would not have any lawful Pretenſions, if Reaſon and Juſtice were the Rule of its Actions.

And as then we gaz'd upon all its Attempts, and Motions, without budging in the leaſt, we do little more now, though we ſee our ſelves upon the point of being the unhappy Victims of its Ambition? How many in the State have found fault with ſending Succours to the *Spaniards*, and if they receive any from us, are not both they and we indebted for the ſo doing, to the Prudence, and Sagacity of the Prince of *Orange*, who ſeeing farther than others, could not endure that all poſſible means are uſed for our Oppreſſion, without doing what became, and lay in him for prevention.

For this reaſon it is, we ſee this Great Prince ſo much th mark of the Perſecutions of *France*, that cannot eſteem Vertue, but when it ſuits with its Intereſts, and has uſed all the little Politick Tricks imaginable, to revenge itſelf on his Generous Oppoſitions.

But to return to my Subject, I ſay, *France* endeavoured to caſt a Miſt before the Eyes of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, who was far from being ſlurr'd upon, when an unſuſpected Encounter caus'd him to do things with more heighth, and no longer to diſguize his ſentiments. *France* had Treated with *Mont-George*, who was kill'd in theſe laſt Wars, and was then a Captain in *Candale*, being a brave Man, and loving War above all things, about Conducting Officers, and Soldiers into *Portugal*. Now *Mont-George* being Embark'd with them, in order to his getting as ſoon as poſſible into that Country, having been taken by the *Spaniards*, who had notice of his departure for that time, it was forc'd to pull off the Mask, becauſe the *Spaniards* already ſpake of taking off his Head. Whereupon a Courrier was diſpatch'd in all

haſte to *Madrid*: and the Court of *Spain*, ſeeing he was re-demanded by *France*, durſt not proceed farther in that matter, for fear of drawing upon itſelf the War, which it was very willing to avoid.

So great a piece of Infidelity was followed with a world of others of the like nature, without any Potentates interpoſing his Authority, to bring theſe things to be regulated according to Juſtice. Not but that there were Guarrands of the Peace of the *Pyrenees*, but not the leaſt aid would they give unto the *Spaniards*, whom it was endeavour'd to oppreſs by ſo many indirect ways. The *Spaniards* too, whether that they were become inſenſible, or as is more probable, they knew their weakneſs, ſuffer'd themſelves to be thus *Fool'd and goodmorrow'd* if I may uſe that word, without ſhewing any Reſentment but by Complaints ſo little ſuitable to Soveraigns, unleſs they be followed with ſome effects; ſo as others ſeeing they ſwallow'd all theſe affronts without ſaying ought, did not think themſelves more oblig'd than they themſelves to take their part.

Mean while, if their weakneſs appear'd in any thing, it was undoubtedly in what happen'd at *London* between Mon. *D' Eſtrades*, and the Baron *de Vatteville*, Ambaſſadors of the two Crowns. For after the Baron *de Vatteville* had got the precedence of Mon. *D' Eſtrades*, at an entrance made by another Ambaſſador, he was not only diſown'd by *Spain*, but *Spain* has for ever varniſh'd its Reputation, by a ſhameful Declaration, which I dare not repeat, nay, which I dare not ſo much as call to mind, for fear of bluſhing upon its account. Yet if it be well remembred, the fault thereof ought to be attributed to other Powers, who ſhew'd themſelves ſo paſſionate for Peace, that they took not any ſhare in the Affront that was meant upon *Spain*, which ſeeing itſelf abondoned by all the World, was obliged to relax of its uſual haughtineſs.

The beſt Head-pieces then conſidering with what Arrogance *France* demean'd it ſelf upon that occaſion, were

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of advice, that before it was ſuffer'd to gather greater Forces, endeavours ſhould be uſed to oppoſe its Ambition; but the voice of theſe wiſe Politicians, was only liſtned to by way of Converſation, and the blindneſs began to become ſo Epidemical, that they conſider'd thoſe who held ſuch like Diſcourſes, as People, who had more mind to create ſtirs, than foſter Peace, which they thought ſo neceſſary to all *Europe*.

Nor did they begin to ſee clear, until that *France*, being no longer able to bear the yoak of Eaſe, reſolv'd to make War in *Flanders*, under the pretext of ſome Pretenſions as Chymerical as thoſe now on Foot: But to which, an Advocate of *Paris*, whom they had been careful to cull out from among the moſt expert in puzling of Cauſes, undertook to give a Varniſh, and ſome Colour. Nevertheleſs an honeſt Man would have been very much puzled, but this Advocate had ſerv'd his Apprentiſhip at the Bar, where for two Crowns they'l undertake the worſt Cauſe that is, thought, that being much better paid for this, he ſhould not neglect a thing that might make his Fortune. Thus Intereſt having prevail'd over Truth, there quickly appear'd a *Manifeſt*, by which they endeavoured to make out, that though the King had renounc'd, by the Treaty of the *Pyrenees*, to what he might one day pretend in the *Low-Countries*, and elſewhere, upon the account of the Queen his Wife, this Renunciation was null, becauſe that the Parliament would never be brought to ratify the Treaty.

This *Manifeſt* did moreover eſtabliſh, that the Queen had a Right from that time over ſeveral Provinces, and to give this *Manifeſt* a Title, that might ſuit with what it endeavoured to inſinuate, it was intituled, *The Rights of the Queen*. Now you muſt know 'twas the King himſelf who hinder'd the Treaty of the *Pyrenees* from being Regiſtred, that ſo it might be a pretext upon occaſion to thwart againſt what had been ſign'd by the greateſt Lords of *France*, and what he himſelf had ſign'd.

Mean

Mean while, this new litigious pretenſion giving occaſion to all the World to make Reflexion upon the little Faith of this Prince, could not ſufficiently admire, that a great Monarch, who affected wearing the Quality of moſt *Chriſtian* King, did things, which would have made the very Infidels to bluſh, whoſe actions ſome took pleaſure in relating, that by the Compariſon of thoſe of both Parties, they might the more debaſe thoſe of the King. And indeed they Query'd whether one was not obliged to keep ones word, and principally a word given ſo ſolemnly, ſworn upon the Holy Evangeliſts, confirmed by a great Allyance, and in ſhort, wherein had been us'd all that was thought moſt conſiderable, to render it the more inviolable. They Query'd, I ſay, whether any thing could fall from ſo ſolemn an Oath, to which every one anſwer'd, that 'twas an Action that created a Terrour in Men, and merited a juſt puniſhment from God.

And indeed a Man needs not be a great Divine, to know that Chriſtianity, and the Church, which is but one and the ſame thing, teaches, that we are to keep our Faith, not only with a *Chriſtian* Father-in-Law, but even with a *Turk*. There is a fine Example of this in a *French* Gentleman, of the Houſe of *Anglure*, and which his Deſcendants do ſtill Pride themſelves in at this day. The particular Hiſtory of that Family does make mention, that one of their Anceſtors having been taken in a Battel, by *Saladin Sultan* of *Ægypt*, after a long Impriſonment, was ſet at Liberty, upon Condition he himſelf ſhould return, and bring his Ranſom, which *Saladin* had fix'd at a very conſiderable ſum; this Gentleman after being arrived at his own home, and had ſold a good part of his Eſtate to ſatisfie his Word, went back to *Saladin*, and told him, That he was come with the Ranſom he had agreed upon with him, and that if he pleaſed to name any Perſon to receive it, he would pay it him immediately down upon the nail. *Saladin* not dreaming of him, and when he had ſet him at liberty, never

ver expecting to ſee him more, was ſo ſurpriz'd at his Generoſity, that after having embrac'd him, and careſs'd him to a high degree, told him he ſhould thenceforward have more Eſteem for Chriſtians, than he had had before; that he not only remitted to him his Ranſom, but alſo ordered his Treaſurer to give him ten thouſand *Francs*, which was a conſiderable ſum at that time; that he requeſted his Friendſhip, and deſir'd him that the eldeſt of his Family might be ever called *Saladin*, that Poſterity curious of knowing why they bore ſo extraordinary a name among *Chriſtians*, might know at the ſame time the generous Action he had perform'd. Thoſe of that Family have been careful to remember the requeſt of *Saladin* to their Anceſtor. All the Eldeſt of that Family have ſucceſſively after one another, taken the name of *Saladin*, ſo that the *Count D. Eſtages*, who is the Eldeſt of that Family, is ſtill at this day called by that Name.

If I might be allowed to make any reflections upon this matter, it would be no hard task for me to prove that the preſent Age is very different from the former. Heretofore a *Chriſtian* kept his word with a *Turk*, and now a moſt *Chriſtian* King does not keep his with his Father in-Law. At this day the Deſcendants of a *Chriſtian* are called *Saladin*, becauſe their Father promiſed it to a *Turk*, and now a moſt *Chriſtian* King neither minds the Word, which his Predeceſſors gave their Subjects of the Reformed Religion, nor that he himſelf has given them. At this day the Houſe of *Anglure*, which is only the Family of a Gentleman derives all its Glory from that their Forefather executed the promiſe he had given a *Turk*, and now the Houſe of *France*, which is the moſt Auguſt Houſe of *Europe*, derives all its glory from infringing an infinite number of Edicts, which it has granted to *Chriſtians*.

But to return unto my Subject, the *French* King grounding himſelf, as I have ſaid, upon his imaginary Pretenſions, and upon the Parliaments not having ratified the

Treaty

Treaty of the *Pyrenees*, reſolv'd to break the Peace, and carry his Arms into *Flanders*. Mean while, as I cannot proceed on farther, without firſt giving an account of the Authority of this Parliament, for fear ſome ſhould judge its Power extended as far as that of another Country; it is convenient that it be known that the leaſt Order of Council, Caſhiers all Acts of Parliament, and that its Power is now ſo limited, that though the matters in hand be only the intereſts of private Perſons, the Council does often attribute to it ſelf the taking Cognizance of 'em, and thus makes a mock of all the Parliament could Decree. Nevertheleſs its Authority was formerly very great, nay, and it's not long ſince, that it was to ſo high a Point, that it was look'd upon by all with Admiration, I mean the time of the Kings Minority, but that time is now ſo much chang'd, that a man may ſay, there's now no knowing the Parliament again.

And even in that time, I mean the time this *Manifeſt* appear'd in, the King had ſtript it of all its Priviledges, had baniſh'd all thoſe Members out of it, who were ſuſpected by him, becauſe they ſtood well affectioned to the publick good, and to ſay all in a word, contemn'd it to that Degree, as to go to it no otherwiſe than in great Boots, and with a Cane in his hand. Nay, he plum'd it of its very name, as well as the name of all the other Tribunals: For to ſhew that none but he was Maſter, he cauſed an Edict to be iſſued forth, by which neither the Parliament, nor the great Council, nor the Chamber of Accounts, nor the Court of Aids ought thenceforward to be called more than the Superior Courts, whereas before they were called the Soveraign Courts: Nay, and he had publiſh'd another Edict too, which ſeem'd to me ſtill more injurious, for whereas when there was a deſign of any new Subſidies, or of ſome other Innovation in the State, he was uſed to go thither in Perſon, to have his Edicts verifyed, he had ordered the Parliament to verify them upon a meer Note under the Privy Signet, which he moſt commonly ſent by a Foot-man:

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ſo as that this Auguſt Tribunal, which had been inſtituted formerly, as a Man may ſay, to be the Mediator between the People and the King, and to ſave the one from the Tyranny of the other, was it ſelf oblig'd to buckle under his will and pleaſure; for there was no more talking of making Remonſtrances, which thoſe of the ſame Company formerly made, to ſtir up Kings to have compaſſion of their People: And if any were allowed to be made, they were only ſuch as were ſtufft with Flatteries, and Diſſimulation; and juſt as certain Fathers make their Children ſometimes kiſs the Rods wherewith they come to Chaſtiſe them, in like manner were the People, who are the Kings Children, or at leaſt, who ought to be ſo, to thank the King by the mouth of their Magiſtrates, for all the Impoſts he lays upon them, to ſatisfy his Profuſions.

Nevertheleſs it was upon the Authority which the Parliament had in the Kingdom, that the King laid the Foundations of an approaching War, as I have already ſaid: In effect, the King of *Spain* being dead, there ſtraight appeared a ſmall Tract, under the Name of the Rights of the Queen, in which it was endeavoured to be prov'd, that the Renunciation which the King had made to his Rights by the Treaty of the *Pyrenees*, was Null; ſeeing the Parliament could never be brought to verify the Treaty. That though this Renunciation were good, which, however they were far from granting, it could not always ſubſiſt, by reaſon of the *Dauphin*, who had not yet Ratifyed it, and yet who had the greateſt Intereſt therein, as being one day to be his Mothers Heir: In fine, this Treatiſe was only filled with trim words, and few reaſons. For to begin with the firſt, true it is, the Parliament was us'd to verify what paſſed moſt remarkable in the Kingdom, but that this was abſolutely eſſential, is what I deny, and which I ſhall endeavour to diſprove. For Example, if a Marriage of a King be concluded with a Princeſs, the Parliament has nothing to do in the Contract, and we do not find it was ſuffered to

take Cognizance of that of *Henry* the Fourth, with *Mary* of *Medices*; and to ſtart a matter ſtill of latter Date, of that of the *Dauphin* with the *Dauphineſs*. And yet in this occaſion the thing perhaps was of as much moment as the Renunciation which the King made by the Treaty of the *Pyrenees*. Yes, but may be one or other may tell me that the ſpecies is very different, for a Treaty of Peace is concern'd in eſtabliſhing the repoſe of the People, whereas a Treaty of Marriage only regards the eſtabliſhing the Society of two Perſons. I'le own with them that their reaſon is ſpecious, but eaſy to refute. For if it be upon the account of the Intereſt of the People, that the Treaties of Peace ought to be Ratified by the Parliament, why does it not alſo verify Treaties of War, as well as Treaties of Peace. They will needs have that a Treaty which baniſhes War, and brings back repoſe into a State, inſtead of Troubles and Confuſion, which reign therein, are ſubject to verification, and will not allow that a Treaty of War, which muſt baniſh Peace, and bring along Diſorder, inſtead of the repoſe which all enjoy, ſhould be verifyed by Parliament, which nevertheleſs was only inſtituted to be watchful for the Preſervation of the People. Let us rather ſay, that this Cuſtom of thus verifying Treaties of Peace, was only introduced, ſince it was Enacted that Royal Gifts ſhould be verified in Parliaments, and that thoſe which were not ſo, ſhould be of no conſideration, and this to hinder Kings, who are commonly inclined to liberality, from giving away all their Patrimony, and ſo compelled for want of means, to vex and oppreſs the People. Let us, I ſay, conclude that the Parliament ſeeing that by ſome Treaties of Peace, conſiderable Alienations had been made, and principally under *John* the firſt, to retrieve them out of the hands of the *Engliſh*, and ſince, under *Francis* the firſt, to retrieve them out of the hands of the *Spaniards*, had attributed to it ſelf the Authority of verifying Treaties, to hinder thence forward the Diſſipation of the Crown Lands. But there's more, which is, that tho'

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it were a Law receiv'd in *France*, that the Parliament may find fault with thoſe Treaties it has not verified, this ought to be underſtood, if the Treaties were not made in the forms, or that they were prejudicial to the Crown.

In what remains, there's no ſaying that *France* receives any prejudice by the Treaty of the *Pyrenees*, not but that this Treaty was concluded with all the uſual Formalities. In regard of the Formalities, they had been ſo far obſerv'd, that this had kept the matter much longer depending, than was neceſſary for the repoſe of the People, who after ſo long a War, only breathed after Peace. For they thought it not ſufficient that *Lienne*, & *Pimentel* had ſet their hands to the Treaty, but for the rendring it the more Auguſt to future Ages, Cardinal *Mazarine*, and *Don Lewis de Haro*, Prime Miniſters of the two Crowns, would needs ſign it themſelves too; ſo as that one may ſay it was the moſt ſolemn, and authentick Treaty that has been of a long while. Beſides they had obſerved therein all the Circumſtances imaginable, namely, as holding the Conferences in a place, which belonged neither to *France*, nor *Spain*, which however is Note-worthy. For this ſhews they were willing then *Spain* ſhould go Peer-with *France*, but ſince it will not be allowed, as I ſaid juſt before, one may ſay it had been Ratified, but what rendred this Treaty free from all manner of ſcruple, not only by the King, but alſo by all *France*; In effect, the Principal among the Clergy, and Nobility, had ſigned the Contract of Marriage between the King, and the *Infanta*, wherein was contained the abovementioned Renunciation, ſo as that it was a miſtake to ſay, that the Parliament, which can at moſt but repreſent the Orders of the Kingdom, would not approve a Treaty, which was already approved on by the King, by the Clergy, and by the Nobility.

In regard of what I ſaid before, that this Treaty brought no prejudice to *France*, that will be alſo eaſy for me to prove. For tho' *France* had then much the advantage

over *Spain*, yet it is nevertheleſs to be conſidered, that this advantage might one day turn againſt it ſelf, being obliged to ſhare his Conqueſts with *England*, which was then in its alliance. Now without ſpecifying by retail what are the dangerous Conſequences which I might draw from this ſharing, it's ſufficient for me to ſay that the intereſt of *France* was not to give one foot to the *Engliſhman* in *Flanders*, who was a much more dangerous Enemy than the *Spaniard*. Beſides, by this Treaty, *France* made ſure of the greateſt part of its Conqueſt, and changed into a certain Right, the Right of Nations, which was a Right ſubject to all the divers events of Fortune. In regard of what was objected, that the *Dauphin* had not ratified the Renunciation of the Queen, this is a feeble objection, and ſuch as merits no anſwer. For tell me, I beſeech you, a Father, and a Mother, do not they engage their Children, when they ſign a Contract? And why had the Dauphin more right to diſclaim what the King and Queen had ſigned, than thoſe had, who live under the ſame Laws, and ſame Monarch?

All theſe conſiderations do ſufficiently ſhew, that all that was in the Treatiſe of *the Queens Rights*, was only to impoſe upon the common people, and particularly thoſe of *Flanders*, who being once perſwaded that the Queen had ſome right to their Provinces, were capable of fomenting a Rebellion, to which they had other provocations, through the ill treatment, they received from the *Spaniſh* Souldiery, who for want of pay, broke out into ſeveral violences. Thus as it was a point of prudence, to prevent all ill conſequences of this kind, by undeceiving them with the ſooneſt, the *Baron d'Iſola*, one of the Miniſters of the houſe of *Auſtria*, ſet pen to paper, and made a ſmall treatiſe, to ſhew the nullity of the conſequences, which the Author of the tract of the Queens Rights, pretended to draw. And a great number of Copies, were diſtributed both in *Flanders*, *Germany* and other places of the neighbourhood. Nay ſome were tranſmitted into *France*, but the Court thinking fit, that their Nation ſhould

ſhould make its ambition, an Article of their Faith, made an exact ſearch after the Stationers who had diſtributed them, two or three of whom were ſent to the *Baſtile*, and were in great danger of their Life, for as it was not allowed in that Kingdom, to write truth in matter of Religion, ſo too in matter of Policy, it was not allowed to ſpeak it, or hear it from any one ſoever. For which reaſon, as well thoſe who bought this Book, as thoſe who vended them, were obliged to ſkulk, as if they had done ſome great crime. But the more they endeavoured to conſtrain Peoples wills, the more they ſtrove to render themſelves free, ſo as all worthy People, not minding the prohibition that had been made, ſought to ſatisfy their Curioſity.

By vertue of theſe imaginary pretentions, the King failed not to ſend to ſummon the Governour of the *Low-Countreys* to remit into his hands the places he pretended to belong unto the Queen. And as he did a little doubt this Governour would not comply with his demands, with a powerful Army he follow'd the Perſon, he had ſent to him, in order to the ſeizing them. His Envoy bringing him back word, that the Governour of the *Low-Countreys* had order from the King his Maſter, not to yield up the leaſt, he entred *Flanders*, took *Charle Roy*, *Ath*, *Courtray*, *Oudenarde*, and *Liſle*, while that the Marſhal *d' Aumons* with another Army, attack'd ſuch Cities as Bordered next upon the Sea. Theſe Conqueſts which were made with great rapidity, amaz'd all the Neighbouring Potentates. They thought it their intereſt to ſtop the Courſe of theſe progreſſes, eſpecially the United Provinces, who had no mind to ſo formidable, and ſo ambitious a Neighbour. Whereupon they engag'd with the King of *England*, to ſign a League, wherein the King of *Sweden* entred, by which theſe three Powers oblig'd themſelves to cauſe the two Crowns to lay down Arms, if not to declare againſt that which would not lay them down.

This League was call'd the Triple Alliance, and was in the Iſſue ſo fatal to the *Hollanders*, as I ſhall ſhew in due place, that for ought I know, they quickly repented

their

their having had any hand in it. A Man of *Rochel* is ſaid to have been the Perſon who laid the firſt Foundations of it; after having made all thoſe Powers ſenſible, how diſtruſtful it became them to be of the ambition of *France*. Be it as it will, *France* which never eaſily pardons thoſe who have once offended it, knowing this Man was in *Swiſſerland*, where he endeavour'd to inſinuate the ſame thing into the Cantons, ſent thither the two *Muzels*, the eldeſt of whom was a Captain of Cavalry, and the other Gentleman of the Horſe to Mon. *Turenne*, to endeavour the ſeizing him. The Affair was tickliſh, and of a ſtrange conſequence for the *Muzels*, if what they came to do had been diſcovered in *Swiſſerland*; but having had the cunning to conceal their deſign, and to trapan their Man, as he was paſſing from one City to another, they brought him into *France*, where he was broke alive upon the wheel, after he had endeavour'd to baulk the execution, by an action more reſolute than *Chriſtian*. For having found in the Dungeon, where he lay, a piece of glaſs, he made a ſhift with it, to cut off his privy members, and hid them under his ſtraw bed, for fear the Gaoler, ſhould chance to take notice of what he had done. But not having been able to ſtanch the blood ſo well, but that there ſtill trickled down ſome drops, the Gaoler would needs ſee from whence this proceeded; add to this, that his Colour did ſufficiently ſpeak him not to be in good health, at length the Gaoler having perceived what he had hidden under the ſtraw bed, with a great quantity of blood beneath, he gave the Judges notice of it, and as he was deſigned for a publick ſpectacle, they haſtened his ſentence. Whereupon he was condemned to be broken, and they fearing he would not have ſtrength ſufficient to go as far as the place where they put other Criminals to Death, and perhaps too, he would not be alive, if they deferr'd his Execution until the Afternoon, as is the common practice, they raiſed up a Scaffold before the Priſon Door, and he was Executed the ſame inſtant.

The Triple Alliance, which *France* had not foreſeen, did

ſo

ſo ſtartle that Crown, that though it had promiſed it ſelf the Conqueſt of the better part of *Flanders*, it was nevertheleſs obliged to lay down Arms; not but that it had above a hundred thouſand men on foot, but as *England* and *Holland*, arm'd powerfully by Sea, and that *France* had not a Fleet capable of reſiſting ſuch great Forces, that Crown was afraid, that while its Arms were buſied in *Flanders*, the *Engliſh*, joyn'd with the *Hollanders*, would make a deſcent either into *Britany*, or in *Normandy*, and caſt a terrour into the very heart of the Kingdom.

France being thus brought, as it were by force, to make a Peace, began to contrive how to reſent this outrage, and principally upon thoſe who had moſt contributed thereunto. And as people did generally attribute to the United Provinces, the Repoſe then enjoyed through all *Europe*, all the *French* reſentment fell upon it. But it was very cautious of letting it appear yet a while. For as *Holland* was as yet in good Terms with *England*, and *Sweden*, a way was firſt to be found out to ſeparate it from thoſe two Powers, which were ſtill capable of being re-united together, for the interrupting its Deſigns. as it only watcht for an occaſion, it quickly met with a very fair one, by a Controverſy which happened between *England*, and *Holland*, about Commerce; far was it then from offering its Mediation, as at other times it had done, to accommodate the difference; on the contrary it endeavoured ſtill more and more to irritate the King of *England*, and mean while cauſed a Treaty underhand to be propoſed with the *Hollanders*, that ſo they might not entertain any thoughts of making their Peace with *England*. The *Hollanders*, who had often found the aſſiſtance of *France*, when they had any variance with *England*, ſtill expected the ſame kindneſs, and the more, for that the *French* King ſtill amuz'd them with a Treaty. But when they thought to have come to a Concluſion with him, to oppoſe the King of *England*, they were ſtrangely ſurprized to hear that the *French* King had joyned himſelf to him and that while the *Engliſh* attack'd them by Sea, the *French* were

Mombas, who was in the Service of the Commonwealth, that had confided in him a conſiderable truſt in the Soldiery. A *Frenchman* he was by Nation, ſo that the King found it an eaſy matter to gain him to his Intereſts, by the means of *Deſroches*, Captain in the Prince of *Conde'* Guards, and being his Relation, had prevailed with him to take a Journey into *France* the Winter before, where he had diſcourſt the Prince.

All theſe Reaſons were capable of entirely ruining the State, as is eaſy to judge, if God had not reſolv'd on the contrary. Mean while, the *French* King being juſt ready to enter the Provinces, the States Aſſembled, in order to reſolve upon what courſe they ſhould take to provide for their Defence. The Prince of *Orange*, who notwithſtanding all the Cabals of *de Witt*, had been Elected Captain General of the State, was of advice to abandon the places above the *Rhine*, to put ten thouſand Men into *Maſtricht*, and go and Encamp with the reſt at *Bodegrave*, whoſe Situation was advantageous to cover *Holland*. Mon. *d' Obdam*, and *Celidrek*, who ſpoke for the Nobility, were of the ſame advice; but the others having been of the contrary Opinion, it was reſolved to preſerve all thoſe Places, which nevertheleſs were ſtrangely weakned by a part of the Garriſons which were drawn out of them, to be ſent to *Maſtricht*.

Mean while the King, after having Encamped for ſome time before *Charle-Roy*, marched towards *Maſtricht*, and ſtaid twelve or fifteen days at *Wiſe*, a ſmall City in the Land of *Liege*, in which he put a Garriſon. There he waited for intelligence from *Mombas*, who having given him to underſtand, there were few or no men in the Cities above the *Rhine*, he paſſed the *Meuſe* at *Wiſe*, and after having put to flight ſome Troops, which were poſted in an Advantageous place, he came before *Orſoy*, which was inveſted at the ſame time. The Governour did not want Courage, but as the Town was none of the ſtrongeſt, and that beſides, it had but a

were to attack them by Land, with ſuch numerous, and ſuch amazing Forces, that it had not of a long while been known that *France* had had the like. The United Provinces were then very much perplexed, for though they were extreme Potent in Ships, and Mony, they had no Soldiers juſt ready to Oppoſe the *French* King, whoſe Troops were already on their March through the Land of *Cologne*, which was the way he took to attack them.

Now to have gone about raiſing any in their own Country, beſides a long Peace, which the Provinces had enjoyed for ſeveral years, had rendred their Subjects more capable of Commerce, than of War, there was no great feats to be hoped for from them; the new Soldiers not being over-fit to reſiſt Diſciplin'd Troops. Whereupon the *Hollanders* ſent into *Germany*, to make Levies there, and to treat with ſome Princes, from whom they were in hopes of Succours. But all *Europe* was ſo ſtartled at the prodigious Preparations of *France*, that each was willing to keep his own Troops at home, not knowing yet, but that under the Pretext of attacking *Holland*, the *French* King might invade *Germany*.

The *Hollanders* had hardly more than five and twenty thouſand Men, for though they had diſtributed Commiſſions to all thoſe who proffered themſelves to ſerve, them, yet as thoſe new Troops were not on Foot, there was no reckoning upon them, until they were come to the Rendevouze. But what ſtill more and more weakned the State, is, that *de Witt*, *Penſioner* of *Holland*, who had much Credit in the *Republick*, had ever excluded the Prince of *Orange* from Affairs, and as he was a better Politician than a Soldier, and yet would be medling in all Affairs, went on very diſorderly, and in great Confuſion. There was ſtill another thing which did not a little contribute to the ruine of the State, but which was then unknown, namely, that the *French* King knew all that paſſed in the Country, by the means of one

Mombas,

the *Tol-huys*, whoſe Names I don't remember, went to the Prince of *Conde* at *Emmerick*, and offered to ſhew him a paſſage where there were but a hundred Paces ſwimming. He received their offers with ſatisfaction, and ſo much the more, in that the *French* ſaw a ſtop to their Conqueſts, becauſe the *Iſſel* defended the entrance of the Countrey, not only by reaſon of its depth, but alſo upon the account of the Retrenchments that had been made on the other ſide, and which were hard to force. The Prince of *Conde* after having careſs'd thoſe two Gentlemen, and promis'd them great Rewards, commanded the *Count de Guiche* to go along with them, to ſee whether he might truſt to what they told him: They brought the *Count de Guiche* juſt oppoſite to the *Tol-huys*, where plunging firſt into the Water, the *Count de Guiche* follow'd them with his Gentlemen of the Horſe, while that his Troop ſtaid upon the ſhore of the *Rhine*. The *Count de Guiche* having ſeen that they had ſaid no more than what was true, return'd to give an account to the Prince of *Conde*, and that Prince ſent the King word of what paſs'd, and that if he would be of the party, he might fall upon the Rear of the Enemies, who not ſuſpecting the leaſt, were only careful to Guard the *Iſſel*. The King being excited the ſame time both with Glory and Ambition, went to the Prince of *Conde*'s Camp, who commanded an Army apart from his, and after having Supp'd with him, he march'd all the night towards the *Rhine*, whither he came about half an hour or thereabouts, before day.

Mean while the Prince of *Orange*, who had found more fidelity among the common people than in the

very ſmall Garriſon, it yielded up the next day. The *French* plunder'd the Town, and hanged all thoſe of their own Nation, who were within it, and who had taken Arms againſt them, and among others, a man of Seventy years old, who was the Cannonier of *Orſoy*. The Army marched to *Rhineberg* and *Doſſery*; the Commander of the Place delivered it up without firing one piece, for which reaſon the Prince of *Orange* cauſed his Head to be taken off in a ſhort while after. The Governour of *Weſel* made little more reſiſtance, though his Town was capable of maintaining a long Siege, and having delivered it up to the Prince of *Conde*, after the Trenches had been open for a day or two, he merited a puniſhment akin to that of *Doſſery*: Namely, that the Executioner paſſed a Sword over his Head, leaving him indeed his Life, but overwhelming him with Infamy. *Baric* was attack'd and taken at the ſame time by Mon *de Turenne*, after which the Prince of *Conde* advanced into the Countrey, where he took *Deudekom*, *Rees* and *Emmerick*, with the ſame facility he had ſeized on the other Places.

Theſe Victories, though they coſt not much Blood, made the King of *France* paſs for a *Cæſar* in his Army. For they ſaw that he like him could ſay, I came, I ſaw, I overcame. Wherefore to maintain the Reputation he began to acquire, he would paſs the *Rhine*, as that Emperor had formerly done; but reſolved to paſs it after a much more Noble and more Heroick manner. For that Emperor had only paſſed it over a Bridge, and for his part he would paſs it ſwimming.

Two Gentlemen of the Countrey Neighbours of the

ſeeing the *French* already appear'd on the other ſide, he lodg'd his Infantry in his Retrenchments, and caus'd his Cavalry to advance along the River. The King being come on the brink of the *Rhine*, caus'd Cannon to be brought at the ſame time, and pointed it upon *Wurtz* his Cavalry, who ſeeing Trees all along the *Rhine*, put himſelf with his Troops among them, thinking himſelf thereby the better ſheltered from the Cannon. Mean while in went the *French* into the *Rhine*, one after one, and many of them were drown'd, being ſwallow'd up in a Whirl-pool. Others ſeeing this, took the advantage on the left, and paſs'd for all the World like Cows, which follow in the tail of one another.

Wurtz his Cavalry ſaw them paſs, without flinching, until they perceiv'd ſome Troopers, who now began to come out of the Water, and form a Squadron. Then they came from under the Trees, where they ſtood, but inſtead of puſhing the Enemies that were return'd into the Water, they made a halt upon the brink of the River, from whence they made their diſcharge, which being at too great a diſtance, was without any effect. The little Reſolution which the Cavalry ſhewed, gave Courage to the *French*, who would never have dared to have ſtood their ſhock, if they had but followed them into the Water, and not ſtood gazing, and ſuffer them to ſtrengthen their Squadron with their Companions. *Wurtz* his Cavalry having thus quit ed their ground, the *French* rallied, and waited for their Companions, who ſtill paſs'd the River, for the moſt part ſwimming, and ſome by Boat.

The Prince of *Conde* being thus in a Boat, with the Duke of *Anguien*, and ſome great Lords of the Court,

Nobility, having had notice given him by the Peaſants, that the King had ſome deſign on that ſide, he ſent *Mombas* thither with Horſe and Foot: *Mombas* had plaid Bankrupt to his Honour, by treating as he had done with the Enemies; but though this occaſion was ſtill favourable to him for the continuing his wicked deſigns, yet fearing he could not carry on his Treaſon ſo ſwimmingly in the rencounter, but that it would run ſome danger of being ſuſpected, he bethought himſelf of writing to ſome Deputies of the State, who were about the Prince of *Orange*, that there was no likelihood the *French* ſhould think of paſſing the *Rhine*, and if they pleas'd he would put himſelf into *Nimmeghen*, whither he had great reaſon to believe they were bent upon their *March*. He took his time to ſend this Letter, when that the Prince of *Orange* was gone out of the Camp with a Detachment; and as theſe Deputies thought him faithful, and that beſides, he repreſented to them the Affairs as preſſing, they ſent him word to do according to what he had written. The Prince of *Orange* being returned to the Camp, was much ſurpriz'd to hear what *Mombas* had done, and as he already ſuſpected him of Treaſon, and that this laſt action ſo very far from ſo undeceiving him, that it confirmed him ſtill in his Opinion, he cauſed him to be taken into Cuſtody.

Mean while he gave his Command to *Wurtz*, who was a *German* by Nation, and whom the Common-wealth had taken into its Service, and ordered him to march in all haſte to the *Tol-huys*, with ſome Troops, which were detach'd from the Army. *Wurtz* did what he could to retrench himſelf in haſte, but ſeeing

and Attack'd the Retrenchments, where they found ſome Reſiſtance, eſpecially at one Barriere, where was an Officer, whoſe head was hoary with years, but whoſe old Age had as much Vigour as the moſt Reſolute Youth. But being at length overwhelmed with numbers, the reſt ſought their ſafety from their heels, not thinking of asking Quarter, which then they thought was to no purpoſe.

The *French* having no more Enemies to fight, plundred the Caſtle of *Tolhuys*, and put all the Iſle of *Betue* under Contribution.

This was not the only advantage they reaped from the paſſage of the *Rhine*; the *Hollanders*, who were then afraid the *French* ſhould come and fall upon them behind, abandoned the *Iſſel*, and retreated to *Utrecht*, where the *Populace* would have Sacrificed *Mombas* to its Reſentment, whom they accuſed of what had newly happened. The Prince of *Orange*, who knew he deſerved Death, yet was deſirous he ſhould be firſt queſtioned, and perhaps put on the Rack, for a full Diſcovery of his Treaſon, gave order he ſhould be ſaved by a back Gate, and hid him in Hay, to ſave him from the Peoples Reſentment. Mean while, the King in Perſon took the City of *Doesburg*, and Mon. *Turenne* thoſe of *Nimmeghen*, *Swoll*, *Deventer*, *Grave*, *Arnheim*, *Skinckenſkens*, the Fort of *Crevecœur*, with a number of other Fortreſſes.

Thus did *Utrecht* fall into the hands of the *French*, but without their being obliged to lay ſiege to it. For while the King was ſtill before *Doesbourg*, the Burgher-maſters brought him the Keys, as if they had been afraid of not having a Maſter ſoon enough. The Marquis of *Rochefort*, who was in favour at Court,

was

Court, he caus'd his Boat to turn back towards the Water-ſide, when he perceiv'd the Duke of *Longueville* had thrown himſelf into the River, and ran the riſque of being drowned, he took him into his Boat, and endeavouring to paſs as ſoon as poſſible, he was no ſooner arrived on the other ſide, than that he drew up his Troops in Battel Array, in order to attack the Enemies Retrenchments. The *Hollands* Infantry finding themſelves weak in ſorry Retrenchments, and had beſides placed all their hopes in the Cavalry, by whom they ſaw themſelves abandoned, thought leſs of making Reſiſtance, than of demanding the Quarter, which the Prince of *Conde* had offer'd them, calling out to them aloud, that they ſhould lay down their Arms. Mean while the *French* ſtill advanc'd, without one man ſo much as making a ſhot, either of their, or on the *Hollanders* ſide, which made the King believe, who ſaw all that paſs'd, that he ſhould have the Victory, without its coſting him one drop of blood: But the Duke of *Longueville*, having made a Debauch, juſt before he parted from *Emmerick*, advanc'd up to the very brink of the Retrenchment, and fired his Piſtol, whereupon the *Hollanders* vex'd they had not fired ſooner, and fancying they had no more hopes of quarter left, made their Diſcharge, which being made, as it were in the very mouths of the *French*, killed a great many of the moſt conſiderable Perſons among the Enemies. The Duke of *Longueville*, who had begun the noiſe, was killed ſtone dead, the Prince of *Conde* wounded, and many others, whom it would be too long to name.

The *French*, who had been ſtartled at this Diſcharge, being recovered from their fright, Rallyed, and

Peace of him. But as he was too haughty upon the ſucceſs of his Arms, he propoſed ſuch diſadvantageous Conditions, that the Ambaſſadours were obliged to return home, without coming to any Concluſion. Mean while, when they were arrived at the *Hague*, it was reſolved they ſhould go again, becauſe that Affairs on the other ſide were in ſo lamentable an eſtate, that they thought themſelves over happy, in that they might receive any manner of Conditions.

Mean while there was ſtill another difficulty, which was, that the *French* King would not come to any Concluſion, without calling thereunto the King of *England*, whoſe Demands were ſtill higher, and greater.

The Ambaſſadors of *Holland* being returned to *Zeiſt*, and having met with the Ambaſſadors of *England*, a new Treaty of Peace was propoſed, but ſtill very difficult to conclude. For beſide, that *England* did not bate the leaſt of its firſt Pretentions, thoſe of *France* were ſo exorbitant, that it had been much better for the State to have periſht, than to have granted them. *France* demanded a Medal every year, in form of Tribute, with all the Charges of the War, which it made to mount to immenſe Sums. *England* demanded to have ſeveral things in the *Indies*, which belonged to the Republick, yielded to it; ſo as I have ſaid, the State had almoſt as good have abandoned all, as to have concluded ſo diſadvantageous a Treaty. The Republick having notice of all theſe things by their Ambaſſadors, who came home again from *Zeiſt*, without having effected ought, reſolved to break the Dikes of the Sea, which was, as I hinted before, their laſt recourſe in the utmoſt neceſſities. But what made them the more willingly proceed to this reſolution, was,

was ſent to be Governour of that Town. But as he had not yet much experience in War, he failed of ſeizing *Muidem*, which was abandoned, by the taking in of which nevertheleſs they had made ſure of *Amſterdam*. In effect, it was eaſy, being Maſter of *Muidem*, to hinder Ships from going in or out of *Amſterdam*, for they muſt of neceſſity paſs by *Muidem*, which they would not have dared to have done, if the *French* had been Maſter of it. Thus *Amſterdam* had been brought to the neceſſity of coming to render it ſelf up, as *Utrecht* had already done. Not but that if the King had ſtill come and preſented himſelf before the Gates of the City, they would have brought him the Keys; for every Individual was in that Conſternation, that they only thought of ſaving their own Families, without otherwiſe troubling themſelves about the intereſt of their Country. Nay, and without ſtaying for the Kings ſending to ſummon up the delivery of the Town, a Council was held in the City, whether they ſhould not go to meet him, to deſire he would be pleaſed to take it into his Protection, as well as all the Inhabitants, and there was a great danger of their coming to this Reſolution, if two Burgermaſters, whoſe names ought to be Conſecrated to Poſterity, the one of whom was called *Offe*, and the other *Haſſenaer*, had not encouraged the reſt to hold firm, and rather call the Sea to their ſuccours, which had been a ſafer Remedy for them, tho they were brought to the utmoſt neceſſity, than to receive the *French*.

After the King had taken the City of *Doesburg*, he went to Encamp at *Zeiſt*, two Leagues from *Utrecht*, where Ambaſſadors from the States came to demand

Peace

Garriſon of *Crevecceur*, and on the other by that of *Endeven*. *Boiſle-duc* is a place ſituated juſt in the midſt of a Marſh, yet it is as weak in its outworks, as it's ſtrong in its ſituation. Nevertheleſs there's a Cittadel on the ſide, which looks towards *Holland*, with two Forts on the ſide of the *Maſtricht* Gate; but all this would not be reckoned for any great matter, if, as I have ſaid, its ſituation did not render it almoſt inacceſſible. The King eſtabliſht his Quarters at *Bouſtel*, but while he was preparing all things for the Siege, God, who had begun to take *Holland* into his Protection, ſent Rains, which continued for four or five days, without ceaſing, ſo as the Country is low and level, it was immediately filled with water, that a body would have ſaid they had opened the Sluces. The King thinking the fair Weather might return, ſtaid eight or ten days longer at *Bouſtel*, but ſeeing it did not leave off raining, he decamped, and returned home.

The Prince of *Orange*, who after the Death of the Penſionary, had all the Authority confided in him, ſeeing the People in ſome manner of repoſe by the *French* Kings Departure, thought of contenting them farther, by the puniſhment of *Mombas*, whoſe death they had long demanded. He had been Conducted from *Utrecht* to *Woerden*, and from *Woerden* to *Nicurbruk*, whither the Army of *Holland* was retreated. There the Prince of *Orange* called a Council of War, and began to examine his Affair, which appeared daily worſe and worſe for him. In ſhort, as his Conſcience, did not leave him any repoſe, and that he thought himſelf abſolutely ruined, he was contriving how to make his eſcape, which nevertheleſs

that the People, rejecting the Diſaſters of the State upon thoſe who had the Conduct of it, had Maſſacred the Penſioner of *Holland*, with his Brother; ſo as that they were in hopes, that as the State had Chang'd its Maſter, ſo alſo its Fortune would be Chang'd.

The States proceeding to that extremity, as to break their Dikes, gave them time to think of their Affairs. They ſent to the Princes of *Germany* the Propoſitions of Peace made them by the two Kings, for the better poſſeſſing their minds in what they imagined of the Ambition of *France*. They repreſented to them the piteous eſtate they were reduced to, and that if they deferred longer affording them aſſiſtance, it would be perhaps too late, when they ſhould be willing to do it. That the Waters indeed ſaved them for the preſent, but that they would not ſave them always. That the Winter being come, the *French* would paſs over the Ice to attack them, and that ſince they had not been able to reſiſt them, while the Provinces had been ſo flouriſhing, there was little likelyhood they could do it now, being fallen ſo low from their ancient Reputation.

Theſe Remonſtrances, the truth whereof was undoubted, ſeeing the ſad Eſtate the Republick was reduced to, affected the Emperour, the Marquiſs of *Brandenburg*, and ſeveral other Princes of the Empire. The Marquiſs of *Brandenburg*, as being one of the moſt Potent, firſt took the Field, to ſuccour it; and as the King knew he had to do with a brave, determinate Prince, and beſides a great Captain, he decamped from *Zeiſt*, and returned to *France*. But firſt, he thought fit to try if he could render himſelf Maſter of *Boiſle-duc*, which was ſhut up on one ſide by the Garriſon

in ſight, to do which, he went this way to work.

Firſt, He began to complain of a great pain in his Leg, ſent for a Chirurgeon, ſhew'd him his Leg, which by a wound he had formerly had, remained bigger than the other, and ask'd him what was to be done with it. He caus'd alſo a Requeſt to be made to the Prince of *Orange*, that he would ſend him one of his Chirurgeons; and theſe two Chirurgeons, the one as ignorant as the other, concluded a Plaiſter ſhould be laid on't, and accordingly ſent him one to be applied for that purpoſe. By this means he kept his Bed, without giving any ſuſpicion, and the day being come he had reſolved to make his eſcape on, he ſent for *Tobacco*, and told his Keepers he would come and ſmoke with them, after Supper. But on a ſudden, pretending he had no mind to it, he went again to Bed before their Eyes, and deſir'd them they would go ſmoke in the Antichamber, for that the *Tobacco* incommoded him. They having ſeen him in Bed, were far from believing he had any thought of making his eſcape, complied with his deſires, but *Mombas* getting immediately out of Bed, took the Plaiſter he had upon his Leg, put it upon his Face, and leapt out of the Window, below which the Guard I mentioned ſtood Centinel.

Thus did he traverſe the Camp, without being known by any Body, whether by reaſon it was duskiſh and toward night, or of the Plaiſter which diſguiſed him. But being come to the *Spaniard*, he was ſtrangely ſurprized to ſee that he refuſed to let him paſs, unleſs he firſt gave him the hundred Piſtols he had promiſed him. This Diſpute gave him to underſtand the Roguery of *Villate*; but it being now no time to make reflexion on it, his thoughts were wholly ſet, how he ſhould come off

was very difficult, for he was carefully Guarded, having People always with him, Sentinels at the Door, and at the Windows of his Houſe. As he was muſing after what manner he ſhould go to Work to get away, one of his Friends got a Letter conveyed to him, by which he gave him notice that he had but three days more to live, if he found not the means to eſcape. That the Council of War was reſolved to make him ſerve for an example to others, and that it was his part to take his meaſures thereupon. *Mombas* ſeeing himſelf menaced at this rate, ſpoke the ſame day to one of his Keepers, who promiſed him in conſideration of ſome Money he gave him, to let him eſcape out at the Window, when he ſhould be ſet Sentinel at that Poſt, which happened on the morrow. This Affair being done, *Mombas* cauſed a *Spaniſh* Officer to be ſounded, who was to be upon the Guard the ſame day, at an inundation, to know whether he would let him eſcape that way, and get him a Guide ready. The Officer loving Money, as well as the Guard before-mentioned, agreed for a hundred Piſtols with him, who made him this Propoſition, in conſideration of which, he promiſed to get him a Guide ready, and to let him paſs when he pleaſed. This Bargain being thus ſtruck, *Mombas* gave one called *Villate*, a hundred Piſtols, this *Villate* having been his Gentleman of the Horſe, and the Manager of this Affair, to carry 'em to the *Spaniard*; but *Villate* inſtead of giving them him, went away with them, whether that naturally he was inclined to pilfering, or perhaps there remained ſomething due to him from his Maſter, and that he was content to pay himſelf with his own hands; be it as it will, as *Mombas* was ſtill reckoning upon this Bargain, all his Care now was to deceive thoſe that kept him in

the whole Country was overflowed, from *Woerden* unto *Utrecht*. But being afraid that ſome or other might come to know him again upon the High-way, he put himſelf again into the Inundation, without any other Guide than his Deſpair; for the Man who had Conducted him to *Woerden*, was trooped off, thinking he had no more need of him; and beſides, there was no ſafety in ſeeking out another, nor having a farthing too to pay him, he thought he had no other Courſe than that of returning into the Inundation.

Being come within a quarter of a League, or thereabouts of *Utrecht*, out went he of the Water, but ſo wet, that he could not for ſhame go to the City in that condition. Wherefore he had his Cloaths dryed at the firſt Houſe he came to, and then entring the Town, he went to lodge at the Palace Royal, where he chanced to meet with one of his Nephews, who ſerved in the Troops of *France*, where he was a Captain of Horſe. But this Nephew ſeeing him enter, far from believing it to be him, he took him for a Ghoſt, for the Night before, a Man came to the ſame Inn from *Nieurbruk*, who had told, as a certain piece of News, and whereof he himſelf had been an Eye-witneſs, that he had ſeen him beheaded: And this Rumour was ſo ſpread about the Town, that no body would believe that *Mombas* was arrived.

Mean while the Duke of *Luxembourg*, who ſucceeded in the room of the Marqueſs of *Rochfort* at *Utrecht*, was very much puzled whether or no he ſhould ſee *Mombas*. For on one ſide he would have been very glad to have got ſuch uſeful hints and inſtructions as he was capable of giving, as being perfectly acquainted with the Country, yet he judged it not altogether

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off from this Affair, which nevertheleſs he ſaw but little probabilty of effecting. For the *Spaniard* ſtood flat and plain upon his having his hundred Piſtols, before he let him paſs, and *Mombas* would not give him them, not having about him near a hundred; In ſhort, being at this pinch, he was forced to make a vertue of neceſſity; and having turned his Pockets before the *Spaniard,* he offered all he had by him: But ſeeing that would not content him, he told him he might do as he pleaſed, but that if he was the Cauſe of his being retaken, as it was not to be doubted, he would not fail to accuſe him. That it became him to conſider what he had now to do, and that he had nothing more to ſay to him. Theſe Menaces ſtartled the *Spaniard*, and making him recollect himſelf, he took what *Mombas* was willing to give him, and let him troop on with his Guide. *Mombas* entred into the Inundation, and went thus three Leagues, having the Water up to his middle, nay, and often in danger of his life. But it was very juſt that a Traitor, who was the Cauſe of the Ruine of a whole State, ſhould ſuffer in his turn; and though what he underwent, was pretty ſevere, yet was it not ſo much as he deſerved.

Mombas being thus arrived at *Woerden*, with ſuch Difficulties as are more eaſie to imagine, than deſcribe, would have gone into the Boat which goes from *Woerden* to *Utrecht*; but when he was in, he perceived that a Woman, by whom he ſate, knew him, and had named him to another Woman that ſate by her. And as a Perſon that has done an ill thing, is ever under a Dread and Apprehenſion, he went immediately out of the Boat, being reſolved to take another way. And yet there was no other than that of the Cauſey, becauſe the

had had it once in poſſeſſion. He it was who conducted him before that Place, when the Prince of *Orange* beſieged it, ſo as one may ſay, that as much care as before he had taken to conceal his Treaſon, as induſtrious was he then to blaze it abroad.

Now, tho' all I have now ſaid may ſeem to be rather the Hiſtory of the War, than a Continuation of my Subject, which is to ſhew the faithleſsneſs of *France*, yet I ſhould think it, perhaps, not ſo foreign as ſome may imagine, ſince I therefore call again to mind the Ideas of ſo many Treaſons and Perfidies: And indeed tho' there's no ſaying that the *French* Nation wants Courage, yet one may ſay, that it's very willing to joyn Cunning to Strength, without which we ſhould not ſee it ſo ſucceſsful in all its Enterprizes. But let's add at the ſame time, that what makes it ſtill ſucceed the better, is that mony coſts it nothing to attain to its Deſigns. For paſſing at one leap from War to Peace, let's examine, I beſeech you, what Courſe it hath taken to ſeparate all the Allies, and whether this Metal has not been of more uſe to it for that purpoſe, than all the *Rhetorick* of its Miniſters.

One of the greateſt Obſtacles to the Peace, was the difficulty of reconciling the Intereſts of the Crown of *Sweden* with the Intereſts of the Princes who had ſome things to clear and determine with it. As to the Crown of *Sweden*, all its Intereſt was; that as it had been engaged in the War upon no other account than for the ſervice of *France*, *France* ſhould cauſe all the Places to be Reſtored it, which had been taken from it, either by the King of *Denmark*, or the Elector of *Brandenbourg*, or the Princes of

Policy to give him a good Reception, for that this would manifeſt too openly the ſecret Correſpondence that had been kept with him. In ſhort, being determined not to ſee him, he feign'd in the preſence of thoſe who told him, as a great piece of News, that *Mombas* was in the City, not to give it any Credit, adding, that ſure he would not be ſo impudent, after having born Arms againſt the King, to come again and put himſelf into his hands. They all knowing what the meaning of this was, their tongues were huſht from that time forwards, and there was no more talk of *Mombas*, than if no body had known him.

For his part, when he knew the Duke of *Luxembourg* would not ſee him, away went he to the Prince of *Conde* at *Arnheim*, and as that Prince was full as Politick as the Duke of *Luxembourg*, neither would he ſpeak to him, but in ſecret, and at an hour when all the world was ſtill aſleep. Whereupon he ſent his Captains of the Guards to fetch him from his Inn at three a Clock in the Morning, and *Mombas* wrapt up in a great Cloak, came to him in his Cabinet. There did he ſell *Holland* the ſecond time, declared the ſecrets of the State, at leaſt thoſe he had been able to know, before he had been taken into Cuſtody; and after he had informed the Prince of *Conde* of all he was deſirous to know, he retired to *Cologn*, there to ſtay until he had leave to return into *France*, which was another Grimace to deceive the World, thinking thereby to take away the ſuſpicions that had been conceived of him. Whereupon ſome time after they let him know he might come to the Duke of *Luxembourg*, and he ſerved for a *Guide* to that General, when he came to take *Woerden*, which the *French* had abandoned after they had

ſwer, How do ſo many things which paſs in the Cabinet become common? How come we to know of ſo many Enterprizes before they are put into execution? Moreover I muſt ſay, that *France* afterwards falling at variance with *Sweden*, did not much care tho' a ſecret was divulged which was no longer of any moment to it; nay, and on the contrary it took delight in ſowing by that means a difference between the Prime Men of *Sweden*, where this buſineſs is now ſo much the ſubject of common Diſcourſe, that they attribute to it the rupture of the two Crowns. And indeed tho' the Homage which *France* demanded for the Dutchy of *Deux Ponts* of the King of *Sweden*, was very ſenſible to that Young Prince, yet wiſe men believe it would not have been a ſufficient Cauſe for a Breach, if the King of *Sweden*'s heart had not been ulcerated with the diſadvantageous Peace which *France* had brought it to make. And it will not be improper to ſay here ſomething of this matter, ſo much the more, in that during all the time I ſtaid at *Paris*, I ſaw few *French* but did maintain that the King of *Sweden* lay under a great obligation to *France*, in that it would not liſten to any Treaty of Peace, until all had been firſt reſtored it, that had been Conquered from it. But they know not that *Sweden* had been forced to yield up the Lands in *Pomerania* to the Elector of *Brandenbourg*, Lands in the Dutchy of *Bremen* to the King of *Denmark*, and laſtly, Lands in the Biſhoprick of *Verden* to the Princes of the Houſe of *Brunſwick*. But ſince I am here upon *Sweden*, I mean to tell after what manner it was ſtript of the Dutchy of *Deux-Ponts*, and under what pretext. The laſt Duke was ſtill full of Life, nay, and in good health, when *France*, perceiving this Countrey lay for its conveni-

the Houſe of *Brunſwick*. And the Intereſts of theſe three Powers was on the contrary, not to hear any talk of the Peace, until all their Conqueſts were abandoned to them, or at leaſt the greater part. Thus the difficulty was to reconcile ſuch oppoſite Intereſts; but ſee now how this Affair was brought about, and which made it no longer appear ſo impoſſible, as an Entertainment that was given one day at the Houſe of one of the three Miniſters of *France*, being the ſame who had the ſecret of the Court. Among other things, there was a Diſh of Olives, and one of the Miniſters of *Sweden* having found them extraordinary good, the Miniſter of *France* promiſed to ſend him a Barrel of them, and accordingly ſent him a Barrel by his Secretary. The Miniſter of *Sweden* very much ſurprized to ſee that the Secretary of an Embaſie ſhould be the Bearer of ſuch a buſineſs, but making no other reflection on it at firſt, he took the Barrel into his own hands, and finding it extream heavy, he asked him the reaſon. The Secretary told him, that he'd find when he opened it, but that the Embaſſador of *France* deſired that he would open it himſelf. The Miniſter of *Sweden* began to ſmell out then the meaning; and having diſmiſſed the Secretary, he broke open the Barrel, and found it to be full of *Lewis's* of Gold, among which he found a Letter, wherein were theſe words, *If you expect we ſhould often give you Olives, you muſt grant us the Peace.*

Perhaps now may I be asked how it comes that I ſhould get the knowledge of a thing, which ought to have been kept very ſecret both by the Miniſter of *France*, and the Miniſter of *Sweden*. But to that I'll anſwer,

Prince of ſo Great and of ſo Illuſtrious a Birth, would hardly be accuſtomed to ſee himſelf under Tutelage, and that it was feared he would call the Emperor to his Succour, they watcht him ſo narrowly, that one may ſay, he was rather in Priſon than at Liberty.

Mean while *France* being very willing to make ſure of the King of *Sweden*, of whom it ſtill had need, for all this paſſed during the War, let him know, that all it had done was only to oblige him: So that this Prince not being able to imagine it had any bad intentions, ſpoke of ſending a Governour into the Dutchy of *Deux-Ponts*. But while that he offered this Government ſometimes to the Count of *Carlſon* his Natural Brother, in recompence of ſomething he had taken from him, ſometimes to a Prince of the Houſe of *Baden* the *French* King ſent thither the Prince Palatine of *Birkenfeld*, and ſo let the Prince of *Baden* and Count *Carlſon* a ſhaking of hands, they before beginning to look a little askew upon one another, as two Perſons are uſed to do, who aſpire to one and the ſame thing.

The Peace being concluded ſome time after, *France* having no mind to part ſo ſoon with ſo delicate a Bit, would not at firſt ſhew its intentions, but ſtill contriving a Colour to keep *Deux-Ponts*, it bethought it ſelf of its Right of Dependancy, and demanded of the King of *Sweden* to pay it Fealty and Homage for it. This pretention, which was wholly new, ſurpriz'd extreamly the King of *Sweden*, but as this Countrey is far diſtant from his Territories, moſt of his Miniſters already concluded that he ſhould wink upon the matter, and not fall at variance with *France*, when *France*, which had only ſtarted this difficulty, that it might not reſtore what it held, cauſed Duke *Adolphus* to intervene that

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ence projected, that as it had not yet bethought it ſelf of its Right of Dependancy, under which Colour it ſeizes on ſo many Lands to ſeize on this. Now you muſt know that the laſt Duke having no Children, the Dutchy fell after his Death to the Houſe of *Sweden*, and not to the King of *Sweden* poſitively, becauſe that Duke *Adolphus* pretended to exclude him, as being nearer by one degree to him who poſſeſt it. The King of *Sweden* on the contrary pretended that the Dutchy would one day belong to him, as being Son of the Eldeſt, wherein there was great probability. For tho' in many places of *Germany* they have eſtabliſhed that the neareſt to the Dead ſucceeds in his Eſtates, yet it is to be obſerved that the uſe is contrary in the Electoral Houſes, and principally in the Palatine Houſe, which was the Family now in Iſſue. Be it as it will, the *French* King having an itch to make the Latine Proverb good, which ſays, that between two Perſons that diſpute for a Succeſſion, there comes a third which raviſhes it away from 'em both, ſent Troops to ſeize on the Dutchy of *Deux-Ponts*, yet under pretext of keeping it for the King of *Sweden*, in favour of whom by this means he decided to the prejudice of Duke *Adolphus*. The Duke of *Deux-Ponts* who was ſtill alive, as I have ſaid, was not ſurprized to hear that the *French* Troops entred into his Countrey, becauſe he was often expoſed to their violences: But he was ſtrangely amazed when he knew they came to gather his Succeſſion, of him I ſay, who was ſtill full of Life, nay, and had not yet the leaſt mind to die ſo ſoon. Mean while the Troops being entred into the place of his Reſidence, he not only ſaw all his Countrey under ſlavery, but likewiſe his own Perſon. For as they very much doubted that a

Prince

he was diſpoſſeſſed of his Dominions, where he now lives in a borrowed Houſe, and upon the Alms he receives from his Subjects. They alſo know, to what the Prince his Son is reduced; they know, I ſay, that his Father not having the means to give him a Manchet, away he trooped upon a little Nag, without Servants or Train, as might do the leaſt and moſt inconſiderable Gentleman of *France*. They know further that he has been too happy in putting himſelf into the Service of the States of *Holland*, who have given him a Company of Foot, which is all he has now to ſubſiſt on.

Some or other will now perhaps ask me why the Prince of *Weldens*, ſhould all alone, ſtickle againſt an abſolute Power? Why does he not yield to the time as well as others; and in fine what great difference is there between a Vaſſal of the Emperor, and a Vaſſal of the *French* King? For in ſhort, I know that theſe Diſcourſes are commonly in the mouths, not only of thoſe who are in the intereſts of the Crown of *France*, but alſo of ſeveral Perſons, who cannot behold the misfortunes of this Prince without Compaſſion, and without ſeeking a Remedy thereunto: to this I will anſwer, that the Prince of *Weldens* ſeeing himſelf reduced to the ultimate neceſſity, he has tried all ſort of means of accommodation; but could not reſolve upon ſlavery. In effect, ſeeing a number of Princes of his Family had ſhew'd him the way, he ſent his Son into *France*, who offered the King on his behalf to pay him Fealty and Homage, provided he might be treated as a Prince, that is to ſay, poſſeſs the ſame Rights and Priviledges, as he enjoyed before things changed face. But the King made a mock at theſe Propoſitions, ſo as that his Son was forced to come back without any effect.

Mean while if a Body may here be allowed to make

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ſo, until they were agreed together upon the matter, it might ſtill remain in its poſſeſſion.

Thus juſt as it had ſtripped the old Duke in his Lifetime, who went to die of vexation far from his own Dominions, ſo does it now deſpoil two Princes in the very flower and vigour of their Lives. For without entring into Diſcuſſion to whom this State belongs, either to the King of *Sweden*, or to Duke *Adolphus*, it is probable to ſay, that if it cannot keep it for it ſelf, it will rather give it to Prince Palatine of *Birkenfeld* than reſtore it to either of the two. For it would be afraid, if it fell into the hands of the King of *Sweden*, of encreaſing the power of a Prince who would not eaſily be won to be its Friend, and it might believe the ſame thing of Duke *Adolphus*, whoſe true Intereſts are ever to continue well united with the Head of his Family.

Now it muſt needs be no ſmall mortification to the Palatine Houſe, to ſee ſo great a number of its Princes become Subjects in ſo ſhort a time. For in fine, beſides that he who ſhall have the Dutchy of *Deux-Ponts*, that if in caſe *France* does give it to any Body, will be obliged to pay it Fealty and Homage, how many others are there, who groan at this day in their Bonds. The Prince of *Petites Pierre* can ſay ſomething to this matter, if the unhappy example of one of his Relations did not perhaps oblige him to hold his Peace. I mean the Prince of *Weldens*, who by having had the Soul of a Prince, and reſolving to keep himſelf in the Rank which God had conferred upon him by his Birth, would now be reduced to die of hunger, if his People had not Pity of him, I ſay reduced to die of hunger; you muſt not imagine I exaggerate, for many people know as well as I, that upon refuſing to render Fealty and Homage to *France*,

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ledge of ſo low and ſo ſhameful an Extraction. It's well known, I ſay, that they have cauſed an Epitaph in the Church of St. *Innocent* to be taken away, and that inſtead of it you ſee one now in the *Celeſtins*, wherein there are as many Lies, as there are Truths in the other.

Nevertheleſs 'tis to men of this Extraction, that Princes who only reckon Sovereigns among their Anceſtors, are obliged to give place at this day. But what ſay I? 'tis to men of much more lower and of a much more vile Extraction, whom the Princes of the Blood are compelled to make their Court to. It's well known that what makes a mans fortune now in *France*, is not to budge out of the Anti-chamber of a Miniſter; and a Colonel of Horſe, whom I could name, and every one knows as well as I, does not diſdain to be the Buffoon of one of the Secretaries of State. For which reaſon, he has parted with his Regiment, for fear that when he was in War, another ſhould rob him of ſo noble an Employment. It's alſo well known that while Mr. *Colbert*'s at Dinner, the greateſt Lords ſtudy ſome quaint ſaying or other to make him laugh, and he that has had the luckieſt hit that way, knocks off, as well ſatisfied with his perſon, as if he had been the man who defended *Vienna* againſt the *Turks*. In fine it's well known, which nevertheleſs People can hardly comprehend, that *Monſieur*, the Kings only Brother, is obliged to have recourſe to them, for the obtaining any Boon or Favour, nay, and after he has had recourſe too, he has not always what he demands. I could prove it if I would, by a thouſand examples what I dare here alledge, but I ſhall content my ſelf with ſaying, that what happened a year or two ago, upon the account of a man who was very deſirous to come into the

ſome Reflection upon the preſent ſtate of the Princes of *Germany*, and upon what they were in a while ago; it's no difficult matter to make appear how much thoſe are miſtaken, who think there's no difference between being a Vaſſal of the Emperor, and the being a Vaſſal of the *French* King. But I am to blame to ſay Vaſſal of the Emperor. For all the Princes of the Empire, I mean Sovereign Princes, as Electors and thoſe of certain Houſes, are indeed members of the Empire, but not Vaſſals of the Emperor. True, they are obliged to aſſiſt the Empire under pain of forfeiting their Priviledges, nay their States, but they are not obliged to aſſiſt the Emperor, unleſs the Empire is attacked. Wherefore let's conclude, that the word Vaſſal does not relate to Princes of *Germany*, who are Sovereigns over their Tributaries, as the Emperor may be over his. Who have Rights of Life and Death over their Subjects, impoſing on 'em burdens and Taxes according to their own Fancies; and in fine, are accountable for their actions only to God alone Let's, I ſay, Conclude, that Princes, who have thus all the Badges of a Soveraign, are very different from the Princes of *France*, who bating that they are covered when the King gives Audience to Ambaſſadors, have nothing above other Subjects. Nay, and a man may ſay they are below ſome certain Subjects that there are; for you know the Dukes and Peers take place of them, and that the Princes are obliged not to be at any Ceremony, that they may not come after 'em. Mean while, if we would look back but to the beginning of the laſt Age, we ſhould find, that among thoſe Dukes there are thoſe whoſe Fathers were Notaries at *Paris*, and other Merchants. It's well known what the Deſcendants of one of thoſe two Houſes have done not long ſince, to ſuppreſs the knowledge

ſure he will tell us, there is little difference between his Subjects and his Neighbour. If he pretends to ſpeak as a Prince, they'l ſpeak to him at the ſame time as Maſter, and if he would have *France* leave her at Quiet, he muſt too ſubmit himſelf to all its wills. Let's alſo ask him, whether he has now any faithful Subjects left him among ſo many Subjects who obey him, and whether *France* has not debauch'd them all. Finally, let's ask him if he dare ſo much as complain, tho he daily ſees his Territories ſo Haraſs'd, and whether he be not on the contrary told, That he is ſtill too happy in being under the Protection of ſo great a King. Let's proceed on, I beſeech you, into the Courts of other Princes of *Germany*, and let's ſee what paſſes there, before we make any Reflection on the Princes of *France*. What ſhall we ſay of the Eccleſiaſtical Electors, the one of whom ſells his Country for glittering ready Caſh, through the ſuggeſtions of *French* Emiſſaries; the other ſuffers himſelf to be daunted by its *Emiſſaries* Menaces, and the other follows ſo its paſſions, that one would ſay, the ſame Intereſt Spirited them both? But let's alſo ſay at the ſame time, that all this is not ſufficient without violence. For who doubts of all the Tricks it has play'd, and the Cabals it has ſet on foot, and are now daily working to detach them from their true Intereſts. Some are told that moſt of their States are Dependencies on the Crown, and that if they do not make it their buſineſs to Court its favour, they will not long enjoy a thing which does not appertain to them. Thus while they are fleec'd of the true Character of a Soveraign, which is of being Independant of any body, they endeavour to inſinuate to them on the contrary, that their Dependency on *France*, is the only thing which can

Farming the Kings Cuſtoms, is a ſufficient teſtimony. Not being able to obtain it, after having told Mr. *Colbert* again and again, he was obliged to ſpeak to the King thereof.

If there was any need to enhance upon all this, to ſhew in what conſideration are the Miniſters of *France*, and the fawnings and ſtoopings which the Princes are forced to cajole them with, I need only relate what happen'd a while ago to the Dauphin. He had asked of Mr. *de Seignelay*, the Son of one of the late Mr. *Colbert* a Clarks place in a Ship, for the Son of the Officers of his Houſhold, and Mr. *de Seignelay* having granted it him with ſome difficulty; a while after a fancy took this Miniſter of a new Impreſſion, to revoke the Clark, under the pretext he was uncapable of his Office. The *Dauphin* being informed of this told Mr. *de Seignelay* that he ſhould be very glad he were re-eſtabliſhed, and that if he had failed in any thing it was only out of Youth, that he would ſtand his ſurety that he ſhould do better for the future, and that he ſhould have no more occaſion for reproach. Mr. *de Seignelay* after having liſtned to this Prince with that gravity he of late ſo impertinently affects, told him that he was not Maſter of the thing, but that he would ſpeak of it to the King. Upon this the *Dauphin* not being able to endure that a man of his ſtamp ſhould receive ſo unworthily the honour he did him, rebuked him with ſuch nipping words, as humbled his Pride.

Let's from hence Conclude that it's a great misfortune for a Prince to be born the Subject of the Crown of *France*, and a great imprudence in him who is not ſo, to entertain any thoughts of yoking himſelf in ſuch a Servitude. Let's but ask the Prince *Palatine*, who is only a Neighbour, how he likes the Neighbourhood, and I am

ſure

which *France* has raiſed upon his Subjects, the Deſolation of the Countrey, the Plunder of Towns, and to ſay all in a word, the Deſtruction of Cities and other Edifices? Who knows not what paſſed at *Huy*, where not ſatisfied with having Tyrannized over the Inhabitants, it has moreover pulled down the Caſtles, and deſtroyed one of the fineſt Bridges there was upon the *Meuſe*, ſo that now that City is fruſtrated of its greateſt conveniency, by having received him within its Walls But let's paſs on to the other Princes of *Germany*, and ſee whether they have any more reaſon to be contented with its Proceedings.

I might abridge with one daſh, what I have to ſay upon this Subject, if I would but only relate what has lately befaln the King of *Denmark*. For as it would be eaſie to judge by the Treatment its Ally receives from it, the Treatment which all others may expect, methinks that this ſhould be ſufficient to inſinuate its violence, and how it pretends to Lord it over all the World. But as there are many who are willing to have ſpecified what way it is the *French* Court takes to bring about its Deſigns, I mean here to give a taſte of its maxims and its enterprizes.

The whole World knows how the *Dauphins* match with the Dauphineſs was made. The conſideration the Duke of *Bavaria* was in, in the Empire, not only upon the account of the largeneſs of his Dominions, but alſo from their Scituation, was the reaſon he was courted by all Parties during the laſt War, as being able to give a great weight to that, in favour of whom he ſhould declare. This the *French* King was ſenſible of, and therefore made him daily offers of a thouſand advantageous conditions if he would engage in his Intereſts. The Emperor

make them Reign. Others are bid to conſider the power it has, to judge whether thus have any thing to hope but by its means, and while they are they fed with fair hopes, their People are encourag'd in Diſobedience that Soveraigns may ſtill have need of its ſuccours to repreſs them; nay, and would not ſay, that all Wheels are thus ſet awork, to appropriate the more eaſily a State wherein each Plays the Maſter, while he, who has nothing to do with it, has already there got one Foot, and will ſet the other too, when he pleaſes, by reaſon of the Fortreſſes that are ſuffered to be demoliſhed. Any man may eaſily gueſs, I now mean *Liege*, where *France* already holds *Dinant*, contrary to the Faith of Treaties, and where the Diſcord of the People with their Soveraign, renders it as much the Miſtreſs, as if this State belonged to it. For who is ſo blind, as not to perceive the Policy in this Occaſion. As it was ever afraid that Mr. *de Cologn* would clear up his Eyes, it thought fit to have a remedy againſt what may happen; and juſt as it maintained the *Meſſanezes* in their diſobedience, ſo it foſters the people of *Liege* in their enterpriſes. If Mr. *de Cologn* would but once make reflection that he ought to be their Soveraign. For in fine, if this was not its intention, what ſhould now hinder Mr. *de Cologn* from reducing a Town which is open on all ſides, without Succours and without Garriſons. Wherefore if he would be pleaſed a little to conſider with himſelf, and mind that the alliance of that Crown, has only ſerved to procure him the hate of his People, and the entire ruine of his Country, without ſpeaking of the Armies of the Empire, which after this have been obliged not to ſpare him, let us ſee how he himſelf has been treated, by thoſe in whom he places all his hopes. Who but knows the horrible Contributions

which

upon this point of Marriage, they ſhould firſt make to him the Propoſal of it. They declared to him, they had Order from the King their Maſter, to break the Matter to him; and ſaid the ſame thing to the Dutcheſs of *Bavaria*, which fill'd her full of joy. After this the Miniſters of the Emperor, were no longer liſtned to in any manner; and there was no other talk than of the future Alliance, which was upon the Foundation of the Treaty, which then was making between *France* and *Bavaria*; by which the Duke of *Bavaria* promis'd to remain Neuter, which was all that *France* demanded. For as the Duke of *Bavaria* was powerfully Armed, and that he had reſolved to obſerve the Neutrality as long as the War ſhould laſt, *France* conjectured, as it was alſo true, that it would create an Umbrage in the Emperor; and that this Arming would almoſt produce the ſame effect, as if M. *de Bavaria* acted openly; and indeed the iſſue ſhew'd that theſe Conjectures were not ill grounded. But without amuſing my ſelf with relating what were the conſequences of this matter, which all the World knows as well as I, I ſhall ſay, that this Alliance having ſubſiſted until the Treaty of *Nimmeghen*, the Marriage of the *Dauphin* with *Mademoiſelle* of *Bavaria* was Conſummated preſently after; ſeeing principally there was no other Princeſs to be Married in *Europe*; nor any better Family, nor who had Nobler Quality.

Beſides, *France* thought by this means it had made ſure of the Houſe of *Bavaria*; but the Duke and Dutcheſs of *Bavaria* being dead a little before, and their Dominions falling into the hands of a Young, though a more Sagacious Prince, if the ſaying ſo may be allowable, than were his Father and his Mother, as *France* perceived;

peror on his ſide forgetting nothing that might win him, ſo as that the Duke of *Bavaria* judging of his Credit by the Careſſes he received, reſolved to hearken to both Parties, but to engage only with that with whom he ſhould find his ſo doing would turn to beſt account.

In regard of the Emperor, he only offered him an Offenſive and Defenſive League againſt *France*, whoſe Ambition he laid open to him, thinking it would be ſufficient to render his Intereſts Common; but as the Duke of *Bavaria* expected ſomething more advantageous, he liſtned the more willingly to the propoſitions of *France*, which they endeavoured to render to him the moſt agreeable that was poſſible. In effect they joyned to a World of Politick Reaſons, which might formerly be good, but which were nothing worth now, magnificent preſents, which care was taken to renew from time to time. And as Princes as well as others do pretty often ſuffer themſelves to be tempted with thoſe lures, he was every day more and more diſpoſed to make an Alliance with *France*. The Dutcheſs of *Bavaria*, for whom the *French* King had formerly ſome thoughts of Marriage, and who had been vex'd that it had not been brought about; thinking ſhe might place her Daughter on the Throne, which ſhe her ſelf had miſs'd of poſſeſſing, puſh'd the Elector of *Bavaria* on to this Alliance; but advis'd him at the ſame time, to ſecure the Eſtabliſhment of their Daughter, who could not hope for any more advantageous Match in all *Europe*.

The Miniſters of *France* quickly diſcovered what paſs'd in the Cabinet of M. *de Bavaria*; and thinking they ſhould the better inſinuate themſelves into his Favour, if without waiting, that he ſhould prevent them upon

reliſh the former, found the means to diſſwade him too from this; repreſenting to him, that all this was but a Snare to divert him from the Alliance of the Emperor, whoſe Daughter he might be in hopes of Marrying; which was not only a much more advantageous thing for him, but alſo neceſſary to his intereſt. Wherefore that it became him to open his Eyes once for all, upon the Deſigns of *France*, which only tended to the Ruin of the Emperor, and of all the Empire. That true it was, that it fed him from time to time with fine imaginations; as, the having him choſen King of the *Romans*; but that at the bottom his Deſign was only to diſunite the Princes from one another, that when the Election came to be, ſhe might take for her ſelf what ſhe then ſo willingly offered to others. That it was not for his intereſt to deſire a Neighbourhood ſo fatal to all thoſe who had the misfortune to be his Neighbours; that this was no ſlander, and that there needed no more than to conſider their condition, to make others dread falling into the like circumſtances.

These wiſe Councils produced all the impreſſion that could be expected in the mind of a Prince, who loves Glory, and flies Oppreſſion. But as this was in no wiſe palatable to the Miniſters of *France*, they were ſo outrag'd at the refuſal which the Duke made of a Match with *Mademoiſelle*, that they had the inſolence to ſay, *That tho' the Elector had Married* Mademoiſelle de Blois, *he would not have been diſhonoured: That there were no great Princes in Italy who would, perhaps, demand her in Marriage, and yet not obtain her. And that the King was ſufficiently powerful to revenge himſelf one day for the Contempt that was made of his Alliance.* These heights gave the Duke of *Bavaria* to underſtand, how

perceived; that he was not ſo wedded to its intereſts, as they had been ſought, to tie him by ſome new Alliance. Now as there is nothing more taking with a Young Prince, than Beauty, eſpecially when it is built upon, and ſeconded with extraordinary Merit; the Miniſters of *France* ſo ordered the matter, that thoſe Pentioners they had about his Perſon, ſhould often Diſcourſe him about *Mademoiſelle de Blois*, the King's Natural Daughter, who appearing accompliſh'd at a very tender Age, promis'd to become, in time, one of the moſt charming Perſons in the World.

The Elector of *Bavaria*, finding himſelf a little toucht, with what was told him every day, or perhaps ſpurr'd on with the curioſity of knowing whether Reputation did not make any addition to the Beauty of this Young Princeſs; made known that he ſhould not be ſorry to ſee her Picture. But the thing having been told to thoſe who were ſtill faithful to him, and who were jealous of his Glory, they repreſented to him too ſtrongly, the Gin that was laid for his Youth; that this Prince recollecting with himſelf, was aſham'd of what, perhaps, he had only done out of Curioſity.

Mean while there came from *France* ſeveral Pourtraicts of *Mademoiſelle de Blois*; but the Miniſters of that Crown, perceiving the ſcandal of her Birth, deſtroy'd all the impreſſions which her Beauty might make, abandoned the Deſign of this Match, of which they had before conceived ſome hopes.

Upon this they propoſed another Marriage to the Duke of *Bavaria*, and which was indeed more ſuitable, being of *Mademoiſelle*, Siſter of the Queen of *Spain*, and Daughter to the Duke of *Orleans*. But thoſe ſame Miniſters of his, who had been able to make him diſ-

reliſh

But to hinder ſuch like Complements, from exciting the reſentments of thoſe Princes, who ought to be jealous of their Honour, they keep buzzing about them, either Petitioners, or *French* themſelves, who mollifie things, inſomuch that thoſe Princes being kept, as I may ſay, between fear and hope, know not what to determine. But let's here admire the Policy of that Crown, which knows how to draw its advantages from all things, even from thoſe which would ſeem to be contrary to it.

The Perſecution which it made Mr. *Brickman* ſuffer, is ſufficiently blaz'd in the World; for he after having been a long while in the *Baſtile*, for having ſhewn his ſtedfaſtneſs, was moreover obliged to leave his Country; ſaying there was nothing more to hope for him in the Service of *France*, where he had, nevertheleſs, conſumed his *Youth*. But as ſoon as *France* knew he was gone into *Brandenburgh*, and that he had been kindly received by the *Elector*; on a ſudden its Hatred was not only appeas'd, but it would needs too Recommend him to that *Prince*; not by it ſelf indeed, becauſe that would have been ſuſpicious, but by its Generals; inſomuch, that this Recommendation, joyned to the Merits of his Perſon, obtained him in a ſhort time a Regiment of Horſe, with the Government of *Weſel*. And he it is it now makes uſe of, but ſlily, to work out its Intentions: For though he does not ſeem truſted with its Secrets; and that on the contrary, he is always ſpeaking ſome Reſentments of what he has ſuffer'd from *France*, he knows how to give the Blow upon occaſion; but a Blow ſo much the more dangerous, in that it is not thought to depart from an affectionate hand.

Bois David, who was obliged to fly *France*, where he

at first that Crown introduced it self by gentleness, and would afterwards establish it self by force.

But this Procedure serving only to divert him the more from this Alliance, he treated immediately with the Emperor; with whom one might say, he would find both more safety and more Glory.

Nor has the Duke of *Saxony* had more reason to commend the Conduct of *France*, who seeing that he stood wedded, as well as the Duke of *Bavaria*, to his true interest, without suffering himself to be cajoled with all their Promises, has rais'd him Enemies, both at Home and among his Neighbours; it being well known how many Tricks and Artifices it has us'd to set him at Variance with the Princes of his own Family; and which not being able to bring about, it has had recourse to Neighbouring Princes, who have given it some jealousie, which the Emperor however, has very wisely dissipated.

As concerning the Marquiss of *Brandenburgh* and the King of *Denmark*, I know nothing which can afford more aversion for that Crown, than its Conduct to those Princes. For if we consider after what manner, it introduced it self into their Confidence, we shall find it set all manner of Engines a going to bring it about; but after having attained to what it desired, there is no manner of hardship but what it has made 'em suffer.

Every Man knows the Proposals the Count *de Roy* made at his arrival in the North. They know, I say, that he demanded of the King of *Denmark*, on the behalf of the King his Master, that he should share in the Disposal of the Subsidies, which he received from him; adding, they were unprofitably dissipated. The same thing almost, was said to the Elector of *Brandenburgh*.

Penſion to his Wife; who has left him long ago without ever any perſwaſions being prevalent enough to get her to return to him.

To no purpoſe was it for him to remonſtrate that he was ready to take her again; no regard was had to his Reaſons: And the firſt thing they began with, was to make ſure of a Fund, which he was barr'd all medling with.

I paſs over in ſilence the Tyranny that is exercis'd towards other Princes of leſs conſideration: For ſince the Princes of Sovereign Houſes are no longer ſpared, as I have made out already, there is little likelihood that others ſhould meet with more favour. It is not to be ſaid what they daily ſuffer from theſe petty *Tyrants*, who of *Miniſters Lacqueys* being become *Commiſſaries*, and of *Commiſſaries*, *Intendants*, attribute to themſelves a Sovereign Authority.

But the *French* are not contented with ſtripping them of their Honour; they likewiſe fleece them of their Eſtates: How many Proceſſes do they exhibit againſt them; either upon the account of the *Militia*, or the Dues of *Vaſſalage*? and how many Princes, who had a while ago a power of Life and Death over their Subjects, are now compell'd to go plead againſt them; nay, and often loſe their Proceſſes too; for this is another piece of the *French* policy, to uphold the *Vaſſals* againſt their *Lords*; as knowing, that as long as it has the People on its ſide, it has nothing to fear either from the *Princes* or the *Gentlemen*, who can effect nothing without the People.

Thus its Intereſt ſways over all manner of *Juſtice*; but it little cares, tho it ſeems unjuſt, provided it eſtabliſhes its Dominion every where, or to ſay rather its Tyranny.

If

was a Brigadeer, and Colonel of a Foot, for having fought a Duel with Mr. *d'Aubijoux*, has also regain'd its Favour by acting for its Interests at the Court of *Zell*, where he is settled to advantage; there occurring nothing there, but where of Mr. *de Louvois* is informed; and what appears the more extraordinary, is that, though there be no more remission for those who are accused of the same Crime as his is, yet he goes sometimes to *Paris*, whether it be to settle his own Affairs, or as is more probable, to Confer with Mr. *de* St. *Bovange*, upon what he would not dare to trust in Letters.

All the Courts of other Princes, are thus cramm'd with Banish'd, or Discontented *French-men*. But at the same time that these Princes receive them, if a Man may not say they receive *Serpents* into their *Bosom*, one may say, at least, they ought to be very careful, not so easily to confide in them their *Secrets*. For as the Genius of the *French* Nation is, to slip lightly into all things, a Man may also say, that the *French* very rarely, forget the Fidelity they owe their Prince; so as that it is great Imprudence to put too much confidence in them.

But after having spoke, as I have already done of the misfortune those Princes lye under, who are in the Neighbourhood of *France*; or that have any Engagements with that Crown;

Let's now behold to what those are reduced, that it has lately drawn in into its Rights of Dependency.

I will say nothing, either of the Prince of *Petite*, *Pierte*, or of that of *Weldens*, since I have already spoken of them sufficiently; but I will say something of him of *Baden*, who was no sooner of the numbers of its Subjects, than that he saw himself compell'd to give a great

Pension

doubted of the reality of it, by a circumſtance which has lately happened; and to which there is no reply.

Every man knows the vigorous reſiſtance made by the *Count de Staremberg*, Governour of *Vienna*; inſomuch, that the *Grand Vizier* often having loſt an infinite number of men before that Place, was reſolved to raiſe the Siege if he could have retreated with Honour. For that purpoſe he ſent back *Count Albert Caprara*, who was the Emperor's Ambaſſador at the Port, whom till then he would not ſuffer to return home to make him ſome Propoſitions for a Peace, and which were much more reaſonable than thoſe he before had offer'd. But the Marqueſs *de Lepeville*, who was with the Emperor, on the behalf of the *French* King, having notice of it, diſpatch'd away at the ſame time a *Courier* to his Maſter, to give him notice thereof; and upon this News, *France* ſent back another immediately to the *Grand Vizier*, to remonſtrate to him the injury he would do his Reputation, after having loſt ſo many Men before *Vienna*, to raiſe the Siege ſo ſhamefully; that beſides he was going to enter *Flanders*, to oblige the Princes of the *Rhine* to recall the Succors they lent the Emperor; and that this Diverſion would quickly procure him a happy ſucceſs of his Enterprize.

The *Courier* of Mr. *de Lepeville* arrived on *Sunday*, *Auguſt* 22. at *Fontain-Bleau*, that which was diſpatch'd to the *Grand Vizier*, or to Mr. *de Lepeville*, which was the ſame thing, departed the ſame day at one a Clock in the Afternoon; and that very Afternoon they not only proclaim'd that they were going to enter *Flanders*, but alſo the Orders were iſſued forth for that purpoſe; inſomuch that the *Grand Vizier* not doubting but that

this

If we proceed to the Uſage the Gentry have met with from *France*; how many do we ſee ruined by Garriſons, and others ſtill worſe treated? for let it not be thought, that it ſticks at the common Forms to eſtabliſh its new Power, though the Law was, to ſeize the Lands of thoſe who would not pay Fealty and Homage: How many has it Impriſon'd, that by detaining at the ſame time, both their Eſtates and their Perſons, Neceſſity ſhould oblige them to comply with all its deſires?

But the Treatment the Baron *d' Evenop* had met with, ſpeaks the top of its Tyranny and Injuſtice.

This Baron is a Gentleman of Quality, and whoſe Family has heretofore afforded a Queen of *Sweden*. For after having received his Fealty and Homage, it diſpoſſeſs'd him, without ever any Bodies being able to give any reaſon for it, or that *France* it ſelf can give any, unleſs, that which is well known, that it is very willing to put it ſelf into poſſeſſion of others Eſtates.

There is hardly any Prince in *Europe* but knows its Violences; and has moreover a notable Intereſt to repreſs them. But their Blindneſs is ſo terrible, that inſtead of uniting all together to put a ſtop to thoſe unjuſt Courſes, they ſeem to have conſpir'd by their Diſunion to give it the Empire of all the World. They all know it has united it ſelf with the *Turk*, to over-run and lay *Germany* waſte; the one on the one ſide; the other on the other: And yet they will not unite to deſtroy an Enemy which endeavours to plunge them into *Slavery*.

But ſince I have mention'd, that it was as it were through Inadvertency that Alliance with the *Turk*; it is convenient that I convince thoſe who have hitherto

doubted

the *Turk* than to ſubmit to his Slavery. And indeed, without ſpeaking further of his *Tyranny*, which is incomparably harder to ſupport than that of the *Pagans*; is it not probable to ſay, *Conſciences* will not be always *Tyranniz'd* over; and that each Man will be allow'd to ſerve his *God*? There you will hear no talk of *Edicts*, which decree the Deſtruction of *Churches*; nor of *Troops* which ſerve for *Executioners* to thoſe who aſſemble upon their *Ruins* to ſing there the *Praiſes* of the *Almighty*. But if it is eaſie, at leaſt, as I imagine, to create an abhorrence of the *French* Government; it is not ſo eaſie to teach the means to avoid it; ſeeing principally, as I have ſaid, all Princes ſeem to conſpire with it to bring *Europe* into Slavery. For in fine, is it not a thing worthy both of pity and anger, to ſee that in a time wherein there ought to be a general Union againſt ſo formidable a Power, they ſtill ſtrive to give it new Forces? for what do thoſe think of, who have lately Elected the *Elector* of *Cologn*, or rather ſay Biſhop of *Strasburgh* for the Biſhop of *Munſter*? do they not know that both thoſe Princes are entirely devoted to *France*? and tho' the *Elector* of *Cologn* ſhould come to rub and open his Eyes, yet the Biſhop of *Strasburg* has ſo great an aſcendant over him, as that he would ſtill oblige him to continue in his error. Do they not know that tho' the *Elector* of *Cologn* only loves Peace, the Biſhop of *Strasburgh* only loves War? do they not know that it was only by the means of the late *Archbiſhop* of *Cologn*, and by the perſwaſion of the *Biſhop* of *Straſburgh*, that *France* carried its formidable Arms into the United *Provinces*; and who then now augment the power of their Heirs, who already ſhew but too much paſſion to ſhackle *Europe*. They have the ſame *Name*,

this once, at leaſt, they would keep back with him, and make good their word more than they had done before; he ſince continued on the Siege, and according to all appearance, would never have quitted it, had he not been compell'd by Arms. But ſince I let fall, that *France* had failed in its word to the *Grand Vezier*, it is not improper to ſay what was the occaſion of it. Certain it is, that by a ſecret Treaty made between it and the Port; whereof *Count Teckely* was the *Guardian* or *Feoffee*, and one called *Boham* the Inſtrument: *France* was bound to attack the Empire on the ſide of the *Rhine*, at the ſame time that the Port attack'd it on the ſide of *Hungary*.

For this purpoſe the *French* King was already on his way to his Army, which was upon the Frontiers; but having learnt that the *Turks*, whoſe Beginnings had been ſo advantageous, that it was not to be doubted but that they would take *Vienna*, whereunto they had laid Siege; had given ſuch a terrour unto all *Germany*, that all the Princes thought themſelves already loſt; he would not March on, not out of any effect of Moderation, nor much leſs out of an effect of Chriſtianity, but that he might not loſe himſelf in the Opinion of all the Princes of *Germany*; for he imagined, that lying under thoſe woful Circumſtances, they would ſuddenly be obliged to have recourſe to him; and already reckoning upon the Empire, he would not pour upon it Deſolation and Terror; and this was the cauſe that he now rather attacks *Spain* than the Empire: For he ſtill hopes that if the *Turks* once ſeize on *Vienna*, that none but he will be able to oppoſe ſuch mighty Forces; as if the Princes of the Empire would not rather chuſe if it was a forc'd Part, to render themſelves Tributaries of

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the ſame *Inclination*, the ſame *Deſign* with the *Deceas'd*. It is their ſame *Blood*, and their ſame *Spirit*. We have ſeen into what a hideous Precipice the *Deceas'd* had thought to have tumbled all *Germany*; and yet as if people had quite forgot what has but newly happened; they give the *Nephews* the means to execute the things which the *Uncle* had only the will to do. The one has already deliver'd the Capital City of his *Biſhoprick* into the hands of the *French*; and the other will have them ſtill deliver the reſt of *Germany*, which is already put into great Captivity by this Treaſon. They are willing, in a word, to find the hands of *Holland* by the Neighbourhood of a new Enemy; and ſo fetter, by this means, the reſt of *Europe*, which has no other hopes than in that State.

But let's put a period to a Diſcourſe, which, beſides, can operate no good effects; ſince all People do not love to be ſo plainly told their Truths. And indeed, as much as *France* may be vex'd that I have here diſcovered its *Maximes* and its *Policy*, ſo will the others bear me an illwill for having rebuk'd 'em of blindneſs and weakneſs; mean while I ſtill cannot forbear ſaying, to the venture of all, that theſe may think that it is rendring themſelves the Accomplices of all the Enterpriſes, which *France* ſhall undertake, if they do not put an end to the Differences, which for this long while have ſo divided them. For what elſe can a body ſay? we ſee the one is preparing to invade *Lubeck*, another *Pomerania*; others are contriving how to oppoſe theſe Deſigns, when on another ſide a much more formidable Power, meditates the reducing them all under its Obedience. They will not ſuffer that one Neighbour ſhould become more powerful than the other, but make no reflection

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that an Enemy reproaches; who not contented with having enlarged his Dominions, with great Conquests, will not content himself with remaining their Neighbour.

It is for all the world, in this, just as what is pleasantly said by the Author of a certain *Lampoon*, which stole abroad about five or six months ago, upon the state of *Europe* at this day: for when he comes to speak of the *United Provinces*, he makes them say, they will not suffer the Prince of *Orange* to Reign over them; and he answers them, that they are blind and fools, since they are afraid of being bitten by the Dog, and do not see the Wolf which is just ready to devour them. In effect, all those Princes of the North, perceive that the King of *Denmark* would willingly joyn *Hamburgh* and *Lubeck* to his Crown; but they do not perceive that *France* will quickly joyn to its Dominions, both those two Cities, and their Dominions too, unless they unite together to prevent it. They see that the Marquis of *Brandenburg* has a design of invading *Pomerania*, from which he thinks he was, without reason, excluded; but they do not see, that while they oppose his augmenting his Power, another augments his to that degree, that they all run a risque of being suddenly oppress'd. Wherefore, What remedy is there to all these Mischiefs, unless that of forgetting the old Quarrels, to entertain a new one? But first, those sordid Spirits ought to be banished from Councils; who after having insinuated themselves into the favour of Princes, in reward, play 'em daily a thousand and a thousand Treasons. None but the Antient Servants ought to be heard; I mean those, whose fidelity has been so often tryed, we should be blame-worthy to suspect them; for in the

Age we live all People ought to be diſtruſted; principally, ſince we daily ſee but too much Corruption. For in fine, Would not *Strasburgh* ſtill ſubſiſt, if it had had only in its boſom, Perſons ſtock'd with Fidelity. But let's admire, I beſeech you, the difference there is between the Service which *France* reaps from its Subjects, which are in the Service of other States, & the Service which other States reap from their Subjects, which are in the Service of *France*. I have already ſhew'd, how one *Bois David*, & one *Brugmaie*, both baniſh'd, and both proſcrib'd, as they are, yet ſerve for Spies to their Country, in the Courts of the Marquiſs of *Brandenburg*, and the Duke of *Zell*. I have ſhew'd, I ſay, what reaſon theſe Princes have to ſuſpect their Fidelity. But let us now ſee, how much on the contrary, the Fidelity of *Hasfield*, who is born the Subject of the King of *Sweden*, ought to be ſuſpected to the King his Maſter.

His Birth is ſo well known in the World, that it would be ſuperfluous to ſpeak of it here, unleſs that I had a mind to ſay, that being born of a *French* Father and Mother, it is not to be wonder'd that he inherits and foſters their inclinations. Yet this may be objected to him, that after his Family had been rais'd from nothing, if I may ſay ſo, by the benefits of the Crown of *Sweden*; and that he was born in that Kingdom, all the other Obligations ought to be effaced; inſomuch, that what was a Virtue in his Father, is a Crime in him. And indeed who can think without having a contempt of his Perſon; that while *France* carries it ſo ſparkiſhly towards the *King* his Maſter, he ſtill conſpires with it, to bring all *Germany* into *Slavery*. Was it not him who took ſo many Voyages to *Strasburgh*, when it was more eaſie for him than others to negotiate, by reaſon of the Language of the

Country,

Country, which is familiar to him; as alſo, for that he was there the leſs ſuſpected? Is it not he who is daily hatching *Cabals* in *Sweden*, where he knows the Great Men are diſcontented, by reaſon of the vaſt Eſtates which the King has taken from them, becauſe they were rather Profuſions than Liberalities made by the Kings Predeceſſors? I only take to Witneſs the great Men of that Kingdom: and whether it be not true, that in a Debauch where ſeven or eight were preſent one of the Company told the other, that if *Hasfields* Counſel was followed they ſhould ſet up a *Teckely* among them, that is to ſay, a Head of the *Male-Contents*.

But I paſs many other things o're in ſilence; be it as it will, there's no ſaying but that *France* does well reward the ſervices that one does it. Beſides his receiving good Penſions from thence, and great Preſents, it advances all his Family, while it ne're thinks of the beſt Families of the Kingdom which ne'retheleſs do not a little want it. He has two Brothers, one of whom is ſuddenly to be a Biſhop, the other an Abbot, the King having promiſed it him, and never failing in his word, unleſs we except what he and his Miniſters call Word of State. There are ſtill two others, one of whom is at *Hambourg* upon the account of the *French* King, a worthy Brother of Mr. *Hasfield*, that is to ſay, juſt as ready as he, to ſell *Germany*, if the thing was in his power, and the other remains in *Sweden*, and he it is that gives notice of all occurences in that Kingdom. Now all theſe noble Blades, Sons of Mr. *Bidal*, that famous Bankrupt, whom *Boileau* has not fail'd to glance upon in his Satyrs, but now he is obliged by an expreſs order from Court to raze it out, when he puts his Works again to the Preſs. For Mr. *Hasfield* doing ſuch mighty feats to render his name

worthy

worthy of immortality, it is but juſtice there ſhould not remain ſo many Monuments of his Infamy.

Wherefore the means to prevent all theſe abuſes, is to follow the Example which *France* does now it ſelf ſet the world. For it not only Confiſcates all the Eſtates of its Subjects who go into the Service of other States, but it alſo forbids 'em to ſerve under pain of Corporal puniſhment. Mean while if we ſee it has indulgence for ſome, we can only infer from thence, what I have noted, namely, that thoſe Perſons ſerve for its Spyes about the Princes, by whom they are employ'd, which is but too true.

Let us hence Conclude that ſo long as there is no Care taken to remedy theſe abuſes, it is impoſſible we ſhould be ſucceſsful in our meaſures, but that on the contrary *France* will have all the advantages it can deſire. For can it be expected, we ſhould happily accompliſh an Enterprize, whereof *France*, had long had notice before we went about to put it in execution? Moreover let's add to this, that it is not yet ſufficient that a Prince ſhould diſtruſt his Miniſters or change them, he muſt be his own Miniſter, and know that tho' there be one perſon in his Council proof againſt temptation, there will be a thouſand that will ſtoop to the lure. In effect, let him but make reflection, that hiring out himſelf very commonly, as at this day, is but too frequently practiſed, to him that gives moſt, his Miniſters may well do the ſame thing, and the rather, for that they want more than he does the money which is offered them.

There remains ſomething to be ſaid touching the remedy that ought to be applied to ſo many miſchiefs, wherewith we find our ſelves overwhelmed at this day. But as I can only offer what ſeveral perſons have ſaid

before

before me, I rather choose to be silent, than to repeat so many useless matters, and besides, for the most part more speculative than real. For when I make reflection upon what I have read in so many passages, and heard spoken in so many places, that all Protestants ought to unite together in Default of *Catholicks*, to oppose their Common ruine, ought not we to Conclude that it is much more easie to reason after this manner, than to see the effect of that Argumentation? For how can they expect that the Protestants all alone should undertake a war against *France*, while the *Catholicks* are daily upon the Catch to surprize 'em. We see at this day a fair Example of their Intention, by which it is easie for us to judge of the Confidence we may put therein. I mean the usage the *Protestants* meet with in *Silesia* and the other Neighbouring Provinces, at a time when they themselves are under Desolation, and stand in full need of our Assistance. But they had rather all the Empire should Perish, than slacken their Cruelties in the least. The House of *Austria* does not see that the Authors of all these Councels, I mean the Jesuits, only give it them out of Interest; It is still willing to Sacrifice to them the rest of the Empire, whereof it has already Sacrificed to them a good part. Mean while let it not be imagined, that all I here say proceeds from any natural aversion against them upon the account of my Religion; I protest before God that I hate no body, and that I would not impute to them any of our mischiefs, if I did not see that all worthy People, even of their own Religion love 'em no more than I do. The World is sufficiently acquainted with their strange avidity to have the Estates of those four *Hungarian* Lords, whom the Emperor caused to be beheaded, to Comply rather with their pressing Instances, than for any Crime which was in

in them, at leaſt, unleſs you will ſay, it is a Crime to be zealous for ones Religion. But as all I can here ſay would be to as little purpoſe, as what ſo many other Perſons have ſaid before me, the beſt I can do is to make an end, and own that our miſchiefs are at ſuch a period as well as thoſe of all *Germany*, that none but God can ſave us.

FINIS.